ROMANISM AND TRUTH

G. G. COULTON

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ROMANISM AND TRUTH

BY

G. G. COULTON, Litt. D., D. Litt., F.B.A.

Fellow of St. John's and Hon. Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

In common with most Anglicans, especially those to whom the somewhat awkward term " Anglo-Catholic " is applied, I must confess to taking very little interest in the Roman controversy. As far as England is concerned, the dogmatic claims of a continental prelate—however ancient and exalted his see—seem to be a little out of the picture.

But from time to time those claims have reactions on the practical life of the world and force themselves on the attention of the most reluctant. This book is the outcome of such a situation, and something should be said as to its provenance and purpose.

Early last year a journalist who specialises in paradox—not only in word, but in deed, to judge by his making submission to the Pope for the obtaining of liberty of conscience—contributed an article to the *Daily Telegraph*. In this he made certain claims concerning his new spiritual allegiance which were courteously and (it seemed to me) convincingly challenged by a distinguished Fellow of my College at Cambridge. To this challenge Mr. Chesterton, assisted by another Roman Catholic journalist (Mr. Belloc), replied by what I can only describe as a torrent of personal vituperation. Yet the main point at issue was a simple question of fact. Does, or does not, the " Roman Catholic Faith " require its adherents to affirm statements which are universally repudiated by what may be called the common conscience of the civilised world?

It did not seem to me right that an issue of this vital importance to ordinary men and women should be covered by mere mud-slinging. Accordingly, I wrote to Cardinal Bourne, offering, in the interest of truth, to arrange for a public disputation in the mediæval way between Dr. Coulton and a scholar nominated by his Eminence. I offered to arrange for an impartial chairman, accustomed, as most English public men are, to hold the scales of debate evenly, and I obtained from Dr. Coulton his consent to act either as propounding a thesis for contravention or opposing a thesis advanced from the Roman Catholic side.

Cardinal Bourne was unwilling to assist in the matter. His reasons were marked "private" and I can only say that they seemed to me insufficient. Accordingly, I offered Dr. Coulton the hospitality of the Faith Press for the publication of the thesis which he would have propounded. If one who is not a specialist in these matters may venture to express an opinion, his case seems fairly unanswerable. Certainly, if there be an answer (other than "mud-slinging") I shall be eager to see it—and will do what I can to give it equal publicity to that here afforded to Dr. Coulton's "opening speech."

C. E. DOUGLAS,
Bursar of the Society of the Faith.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I TRUST that there is no presumption in begging reviewers or possible adversaries to read this preliminary explanation, even if they feel tempted to go no further.

Although, in the Anglican Church, we lose the advantages of military discipline, and a Prohibitory Index of Books, and strict censorship, and the tacit understanding that all must speak with one single voice in the face of the outsider, yet we have compensations of our own. For one thing, an Anglican is free to say exactly what he thinks; and an Anglo-Catholic director of the Faith Press has offered to me, who probably disagree with him on certain important points, complete freedom of speech in this present volume. I must try to use that liberty as not abusing it.

The challenge alluded to in the Publishers' Note was the logical outcome of many small skirmishes. Naturally and legitimately, Roman Catholics seized the opportunity of the Emancipation Centenary for a propaganda more intensive and more persistent than ever. But this advantage, fair in itself, has not been fairly used; certain most pertinent truths have been suppressed all through the year, and certain falsehoods have at least been suggested, to use no stronger word. The most convincing plea in favour of Romanism has not been brought forward, not only because it does not exist, but (which is more important) because, if it were claimed to exist, the bubble could be pricked at once. That plea would have been that Emancipation, by removing all restrictions upon speech and action, and thus giving full play, at last, to Supreme Truth, had resulted in a striking Romanist advance since 1829.

Yet their statistics, even when we accept their own valuation, point only to an advance of one per cent on the general population. Therefore, even if there were no leakage, the conversions they claim come to no more than this, that 2,000 years hence, when Christianity shall have run a future course even longer than its whole course in the past, the Western world might again see such a Roman Catholic régime as that which lasted during most of the Middle Ages.

In default, therefore, of an appeal to Christ's criterion, "by their fruits ye shall know them" (for the statistics of Romanist criminals are far more disadvantageous to their cause than the statistics of conversion) they have fallen back mainly, during this centenary Jubilee, upon unverifiable boasts. We have read accounts, in their denominational papers, of enormous successes (for instance) at Liverpool. We have been told that, for the first time, scales are now falling from non-Romanist eyes. The *Catholic Times* printed, in the boldest of headlines, "SUCCESS OF EMANCIPATION ESSAY COMPETITION. OVER 300 SCHOOLS REPRESENTED IN CONTEST FOR UNIQUE PRIZES. TREMENDOUS FILLIP TO THE CHILDREN'S INTEREST IN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION CENTENARY." (March 8th, 1929.) It boasted next week of the splendid harvest reaped by Fathers Grimley and Blundell at their Liverpool meetings. And readers of the *Universe* (March 1st) were attracted by still more alluring, though merely tentative, suggestions: "The average non-Catholic Englishman knows nothing of the history of the Church in England. . . . Probably it is too daring to suggest the even more far-reaching and direct method of attack—a series of public lectures by well-known figures, Mr. Belloc, Mr. Chesterton, Fr. Knox, Fr. Martindale. . . . A few films might be thrown in." This writer's suggestion was most natural; he was simply taking his champions at their own word. Mr. Chesterton had constantly boasted the "science" of his own new creed and the nescience of all outsiders; and, in perhaps his best-known book, *Orthodoxy,* he had written (p. 11): "The only possible excuse for this book is that it is an answer to a challenge. Even a bad shot is dignified when he accepts a duel. . . . . If anyone wants my opinions about the actual nature of the authority [of the Christian Church], Mr. G. S. Street has only to throw me another challenge, and I will write him another book." Here, then, he posed as a champion always ready for the sacred fray. And, in the same fearless spirit, Mr. Belloc, with almost weekly regularity, wherever he happened to be writing, offered to play the modern Hercules and struggle with the hydra of non-Romanist ignorance. Indeed, he has actually confessed himself to be sated with victory: "To-day, the Church has no opponents worthy of her. . . . I do not know whether it were better for us or worse if there were now arrayed against the Christian religion men of the old calibre; but, at any rate, it would be an intellectual pleasure to deal with them, and that intellectual pleasure is denied us."[1]

Yet, when we look behind all this rodomontade, we find a mere mass of charlatanism. Any attentive reader of Mr. Chesterton may see that he seldom truly strikes his adversary, but merely some Turk's head of his own. He pitilessly exposes folly after folly, but seldom in the other man's own words. He must first turn it into nonsense of his own, and then he can amuse himself and his credulous readers by exposing the absurdities which he has created. Nor can he be altogether absolved from that reproach which falls mainly upon his ally Mr. Belloc, of adding the coward to the bully. Both men, under trial, ring as hollow as

[1] *Universe,* Oct. 22nd, 1926. The whole article is on Renan, and Mr. Belloc follows these words, almost immediately, with a characteristic blunder. He speaks of "Newman's conversion in England a lifetime before" Renan's abandonment of the priesthood. As a matter of fact, the two events were exactly simultaneous, and the significance of this simultaneity has been more than once remarked.

do many of their most conspicuous companions: they are haunted by subconscious fear of the truths which they publicly hold up to derision.

The bluster of these Romanist journals among themselves, and this cry of *O Belloc, help us!* from the *Universe,* suggested inevitably some rigorous test from outside. Mr. Douglas, in his note, has told how he approached Cardinal Bourne, and with what result. But the Emancipation braggadocio never slackened; therefore I sent an invitation to seven of the busiest and most prominent champions, suggesting an orderly discussion of the things which they accused us of ignoring, to be printed for the public edification; otherwise (I asked) how are we outsiders ever to emerge from our lamentable darkness? Two of the seven declined silently, and the rest more definitely. Mr. Chesterton alone made some show of entertaining the proposition; but, after long silences and evasive pretexts, he also dropped off.[2]

Yet St. Thomas Aquinas is very urgent as to the duty of the faithful to dispute, in countries where their faith is seriously attacked; and Cardinal Lépicier, one of those most in favour at Rome during this present century, has recently urged it not only in St. Thomas's words but in his own. Like St. Thomas, he naturally requires that the orthodox champion should be competent to defend the Roman faith; and he adds that the Bishop's licence is necessary.[3] But surely one, at least, of these advocates who have been so long and so conspicuously in the public eye, and who so constantly accuse us of ignorance, must feel himself competent to come forward at the Saint's and the Cardinal's bidding! or, at the very least, an energetic Bishop can choose some other competent advocate. Otherwise the Saint's prophecy will be inevitably fulfilled; silence "would tend to strengthen error." The situation becomes more serious—or shall we say, from the general public's point of view, more ridiculous —in view of the threat which Mr. Chesterton uttered at the moment when he declined my challenge in the *Daily Telegraph,* that he intended to attack me some day in some other place, where I shall doubtless be denied those equal opportunities of reply which I would gladly have granted him if he had not finally shrunk from the test. Already, a few years ago, he brought false accusations against me in the *Dublin Review,* which, as he knows, would not print a single line from me in reply.

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[2] See Appendix I.

[3] See full quotations in Appendix II.

It is necessary to put these facts before the public in plain language, in order to expose the hollowness which lurks behind the boldest of these Romanist utterances, and their constant assertions that we are ignorant where, under any full cross-examination, it would become evident that their own ignorance is at the bottom of the whole difficulty. Here, for instance, is a quite recent case. Mr. Belloc, arguing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1930, that Romanism never brings a man into conflict with what he owes to his own State, begins by quarrelling with his adversary's use of the term "Roman Catholic." He writes (p. 412): "The term 'Roman' Catholic is a provincial legal term invented for political purposes by the Westminster Crown Lawyers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century to safeguard the remaining claims of the English Monarchy to be Catholic. To say it is meaningless or opprobrious. It was invented to be used in England as a protest that the Church of England could be Catholic without the Pope. It no longer corresponds with reality." This casts a lurid light, to begin with, on the author's pretensions to mediæval scholarship; for the faithful of the Middle Ages, in all countries, very commonly used this term "Roman Catholic." But it becomes less surprising that a man should blunder over the Middle Ages, when he proves equally ignorant of the most public documents in his own Church of to-day. I need only quote two of the most recent and celebrated acts of the present Pope. In his Encyclical on Education (Dec. 31st, 1929), which has been semi-officially translated into English and broadcasted as a cheap pamphlet, Pius XI. formally uses the term " Holy Roman Catholic Church "; and again, in the Index which he has just published with due solemnity, his secretary, Cardinal Merry del Val, admonishes all men to obey " the Roman Catholic Church," or, again, " the Roman Church."[4] This fundamental weakness of Romanist controversy is, in one very real sense, its strength. The exact rehearsal of ignorances and mis-statements and reticences, which could be proved to the hilt against these men if ever things were sifted with the thoroughness of the law-courts, is apt to sound like the accusations of mere poisonous malice; and, in the nature of the case, the matter is seldom so gross that it can be exposed in two minutes, as in the instance just quoted, by reference to a twopenny pamphlet within everybody's reach.[5] In other cases, where the proof would be long and complicated, the offender needs only to bluster it out, or to keep silence, or to assume an air of outraged dignity; and the general British public, little accustomed to suspect falsehood in religious discussion from men who would shrink from falsehood in ordinary life, is sure to give him the benefit of the doubt. In a recent public debate, a prominent Dominican put me with my back to the wall, by asking: " Do you suggest that Catholics as a body are ignorant of " a certain notorious fact? To this I could only answer: " Experience has taught me that there is no bottom to the ignorance of some Catholics on some historical subjects which they ought to know." He replied: " I shall, in spite of that remark, be as civil as I can": and he kept his word.[6] I felt that his courtesy put him at an advantage with many hearers who could not follow us into the details of technical discussion. But, when a question of this kind is used as an argument (in that particular case, in thorough good faith), it must needs be answered in terms of plain truth, with only secondary respect to the courtesy which ought ordinarily to rule our actions. In one very famous discussion, the Austrian ambassador argued thus with Bismarck: "If what you urge is really true, then I have told a lie." Bismarck answered: "Since you insist, I must reply that you have."

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[4] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* 1929, p. 743, " La Santa Chiesa Cattolica Romana "; *Indice dei Libri Proibiti,* 1929, p. xii.; " La Chiesa Cattolica Romana "; " questa Chiesa Romana."

[5] *Christian Education of Youth,* by His Holiness Pius XI. Catholic Truth Society, 1930, p. 26.

Therefore, no non-Romanist need be frightened by this bugbear of flat contradiction, or by sneers at his ignorance of things which "every Catholic knows." It will be seen that I quote, both in this volume and in the next, almost exclusively from Romanist sources. Often I bring evidence from writers who bear the hall-mark of perfect orthodoxy; from Popes and Saints; but often, also, from men who, in spite of themselves, were either cast out from the Church or finally left it of their own accord. For, let it again be said, there are few more glaring falsehoods in modern Roman apologetics than the assurance that "the Catholic understands all these things; it is only the Protestant who cannot understand." Random journalists have worn that argument threadbare, and it is all the more effective and the falser because it contains a half or quarter-truth. In one sense, no man perfectly understands another, nor any group another group. Here, for instance, is a similar plea, equally justified, from a Christian Scientist official who is offended by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's "Our New Religion" (*Times Lit. Sup.*, Dec. 5th, 1929, p. 1032): "Not one word that Mr. Fisher has written will have the slightest effect on the faith of the Christian Scientist, for the Christian Scientist knows that Mr. Fisher is only writing about his false concept of Christian Science and its teaching. The Christian Scientist regrets that one with such a reputation for what the world calls intelligence should have so misunderstood the subject. Truly St. Paul has said, 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.'" So far, the Christian Scientist is able to repeat the Romanist claim. But that Roman argument, in the form in which it is constantly used, suggests a fatal falsehood. Men who have known that Church intimately, not merely as irresponsible laymen but as seminary-taught priests, experienced for long years in pastoral work of all kinds—not, again, as mere recent converts from Protestantism, but as born in pious Romanist families and soaked from their cradle in Romanist ideas—such men have, over and over again, publicly interpreted these Romanist difficulties just as Protestants interpret them; have given the public plain reasons for such interpretations, and have frequently proved too formidable in argument for any orthodox apologist to meet them in the open field. These facts can hardly be wholly unknown to the many propagandists who are so ready with the assertion that none but Protestants put an invidious interpretation upon what, to the ordinary man's common sense, seem plain facts or plain doctrines of Romanism. Therefore I say deliberately, with all due sense of responsibility, that the apologists who ignore this are not themselves writing in complete ignorance; that they are often deeply guilty of what the scholastics called *ignorantia affectata;* and that they will do better to meet our criticisms openly in detail, than to take refuge behind an excuse which is doubtless ridiculed in secret, if not in public, by far better-instructed Romanists than themselves. It little becomes even a born Romanist like Mr. Belloc to lay the whole blame on our ignorance of his Romanist thought. When he repeated this quite recently, in the *Listener,* I called upon him once more to make good his challenge under cross-examination; and once more he shrank from what ought to have been a welcome opportunity to substantiate the claims of his Church.[7]

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[6] I am printing this whole discussion under the title of *The Pope not Infallible* (Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1/-). This particular dialogue came at an early stage of the debate.

Meanwhile, that Church is pursuing secretly in England (helped, I have reason to believe, by American dollars) a scheme which even the most boastful among its champions do not dare to set about openly. The "Westminster Catholic Federation" is under the presidency and special patronage of Cardinal Bourne. It has set itself, with great deliberation, to engineer an attack upon the histories commonly used in the schools of Great Britain. Its historical "expert," of whom we may speak conveniently in the singular, though perhaps the Federation has employed a whole group, has assiduously sifted all the books used in London County Council schools, has sent to the L.C.C. and to the publishers a long list of matters requiring correction, and has printed the results with its report, in three octavo volumes. So far, nothing could be more legitimate; it would be miraculous if there were no points that needed correction or improvement in our histories; and even considerable sums might usefully be spent upon their improvement. But all this, though it is a matter of the most obvious public concern for all British educationalists, is being engineered with all the secrecy which a highly-disciplined institution can command. It was only by the merest chance that I discovered the existence of these voluminous reports, letters and documents. Doubtless there is no copy in the British Museum or in any other public library. I pleaded twice with the Secretary, and very earnestly, for leave to purchase a copy. On his persistent refusal, I decided to utilise such information as I had chanced to glean, and wrote to the Cardinal pleading not only for some sort of publicity, but for the simple fulfilment of what his Federation had very solemnly promised. They had professed (to each other, that is, under seal of secrecy) great anxiety to receive corrections; they had sanctimoniously scolded the publishers for ever allowing personal reasons of money and convenience to stand in the way of cancelling and reprinting incorrect pages; they had urged that historical ignorance is no sufficient excuse for men who are in any way responsible for the historical teaching of a nation's children. Again, when I pleaded with them for publicity, they had hypocritically replied that this would be unfair to the publishers whose private letters were utilised so extensively in these reports. Yet I happened to know, from one of the best and most public-spirited of these publishers, that he was indignant with the Federation for having printed, without any sort of permission, his own letters (in an edition of 2,000 copies, I believe) for circulation within the inner Roman Catholic clique, and as a lever for putting pressure upon him and his fellows. I besought the Cardinal, therefore, to persuade these, his special protégés, into some sort of public fulfilment of their own private assurances. I indicated briefly more than one gross mis-statement on the part of their historical "expert." I did not emphasise one of the grossest of all, that this man (like Mr. Belloc and the new Irish Free State authorities) treats the term "Roman Catholic" as a brand of shame, and demands that our publishers shall all go to the expense of reissuing their histories without the "meaningless and opprobrious" adjective. But I produced enough, with plain evidence from the Report itself, to give colour to my contention that his Federation, if they could have their way, would mislead the children far more seriously than our present system misleads them. I indicated nine points which the Federation itself had indicated as fundamental, and offered to discuss any two of these by letter, at their own choice, and to print the result at my own expense. Only thus, I argued, could his

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[7] See Appendix III. for this correspondence.

Federation justify their self-appointed undertaking of compelling our publishers and the L.C.C. to re-write history in the Romanist interest. After long delay, and a reminder from me, the Secretary answered at last that they would do nothing of the kind, nor take any notice of any further communication from me. The full documents may be found in my Appendix IV.; I published them also in the *Church of England Gazette* and the *Literary Guide,* but there is no reason to believe that they will elicit any reply.

Let all fair-minded readers, therefore, consider the significance of this attempt upon our schools, side by side with the present Romanist claim for State money to teach their own particular doctrines in their own schools, built expressly for the purpose of segregating their children from things which seem right to the enormous majority of the community. A German scholar of their own Church, Mumbauer, complained some years ago against this principle of mental segregation:[8] "The Church is rebuilding the Ghetto in the midst of the modern state, and she is shutting the Catholics up in it. Wherever she can, she creates special Universities or Faculties, in order to keep young students away from the public establishments and to withdraw them from official science, with its progress and its methods. . . . Science goes on without them; progress in social life is realised without them. They have become useless members of civilised society." Yet this is the system which we are now being called upon to perpetuate at pecuniary sacrifice to the community! It is not as though these chosen people were going out from us into the wilderness, in the spirit of real discovery and adventure. Their ordained missionaries are, no doubt, as adventurous and efficient as others; but the immense majority of their adherents prefer to enjoy, as a society within our society, the comforts of what Mumbauer calls their intellectual Ghetto; and meanwhile they call upon us, under the singular plea of social justice, to contribute our jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment for the maintenance of these Ghetto-schools. A teaching which fears ordinary cross-examination is not a teaching which any educationalist has a right to maintain at the taxpayer's expense. Therefore we cannot emphasise too strongly the clandestine and evasive character of Roman Catholic teaching among us. I receive occasional letters from nameless or unknown correspondents, warning me of what will happen if the great men ever awake from sleep and take me at my word, and oppose their victorious evidence to my mere captious objections. These correspondents write in tones of frenzied exaltation; they seem capable of leaping upon the altar and cutting themselves with knives and lancets; but as yet there has been neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded. This kind of thing will no longer pass muster in modern society, with its ineradicable habit of free discussion. Lord Acton wrote very truly: "Everything secret degenerates, even the administration of justice; nothing is safe that does not show how it can bear discussion and publicity. The Church especially has been in the habit of appealing to the sense of the masses, to public opinion, as she is founded on conscience." This was in 1861, when he and his like-minded collaborators on *The Rambler*, were struggling to wean Romanists from teachers like W. G. Ward, "whose letter represents not a reasonable point of view, but a state of mind," and when Acton felt that "what is most wanted is a high standard of education in the clergy."[9] Yet *The Rambler* was soon suppressed by the bishops; and, nine years later, Acton found himself not among a more highly educated clergy, but among those who willingly welcomed, in the teeth of history, a doctrine of Papal Infallibility which many of the most learned among orthodox theologians had explicitly repudiated,

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[8] Quoted by Pernot in his *Politique de Pie X.,* p. 144.

[9] F. A. Gasquet, *Lord Acton and his Circle*, Letter LXXIV., p. 165.

and which, as Acton felt, placed his Church thenceforward at a hopeless disadvantage in every reasoned and orderly discussion.

"Is all the truth, then, on the non-Romanist side?" Of course not; the real question is, What proportion of truth? Romanists are steadily playing now for stalemate. They calculate, with great worldly wisdom, that so long as the details are complicated, and special knowledge is required for judgment, they only need to raise a great deal of dust, and the public will fall back upon a rough and ready verdict—"six of one, and half a dozen of the other." For some years, therefore, I have made a practice of trying to ascertain, both for myself and for the public, how far this supposed parity of truth really exists. First in 1906, and continually since, I have exposed myself to a test which, I feel convinced, no Roman Catholic controversialist would face for his own part. I have promised to print, on errata-lists, all corrections of fact which may be brought to my notice; moreover, I have more than once offered to my opponents a considerable space for reply within the covers of my own publications. The only serious acceptances of this offer have been by two distinguished Jesuits; and, by printing both these discussions at my own expense, I have given the public full opportunity for judging between us.[10] Others, who have declined thus to come forward, have indeed mocked at me as a man who trails his coat for a fight; but I see no reason to depart from a policy which affords the public, in these complicated and important religious questions, something of the same business guarantees which we all take as a matter of course wherever mere money is concerned. Moreover, I am more and more convinced that if the same policy were followed by writers to whom the Romanist public mainly looks for guidance, there would be a great deal less of what we may call Ghetto-writing, and presently a much better feeling between two parties which, then at last, could trust the facts advanced by their opponents. Agnostics, again, would no longer have their present opportunities of making merry over the painful divorce between religious sentiment and the world's ordinary standards of veracity.

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[10] (1) *Roman Catholic Truth,* in discussion with Fr. Leslie Walker, S.J., of Oxford; (2) *Roman Catholic and Anglican Accuracy,* with Fr. H. Thurston, S.J., of Farm Street. Both are published by Simpkin Marshall & Co.

Finally, I must explain my frequent use of the term *Romanist.* For *Roman Catholic,* as we have seen, no apology is needed; it is mainly journalists and politicians who think to impress us by showing themselves more papal than Pius XI. and Cardinal Merry del Val. But the term is cumbrous for all but formal documents; and when we come, as we often do, to the necessary distinction between two clearly-separated portions of the community, then *non-Roman-Catholic* is an intolerable phrase. There seems no reason why a Romanist should be any more ashamed of Romanism than an Anglican is of Anglicanism, or a Wesleyan of Wesleyanism. True, one priest has pointed out to me, from that side, that Webster's Dictionary describes the term as one "chiefly used in depreciation." But the great Oxford English Dictionary lays no heavy emphasis on that side; and, on reflection, we may see clearly why the term *Romanism* is generally, if only slightly, depreciatory. For this Roman Church makes a claim which is unique and absolute. It alone is the true Church; all others are false; therefore (it claims) the terms *Catholic* and *Universal* express it exactly. But all we others, who are willing to call this a Church, yet unwilling to use a term which, if scientifically correct, would bastardise all other religious communions, feel that we have every reason, in all serious argument, to refuse prejudging the conclusion by inexact terminology. We are all the more unwilling, because our adversaries constantly appeal to this word as though it were a conclusive reality: "*Catholic*" (they argue) "is a common public name for us; therefore *we are* Catholics, and you are mere sectarians." Thus they compel us, in ordinary logical accuracy, to reply, "We are not mere sectarians, and therefore we cannot use the term you would force upon us." *Romanist,* therefore, is a word which, in the nature of the case, is used only by non-Romanists. And as, in this wicked world, non-Romanists feel for Romanists at least some fraction of the depreciation which Romanists freely express for outsiders, therefore the word has acquired, to some extent, an invidious connotation. *Christian,* similarly, was once a word of reproach; and, in early days, of the deepest reproach. Yet it has lived down its bad reputation; may we not, therefore, suggest that it is for Roman Catholics, likewise, so to live that *Romanist* may become a clear title of honour?

And there is one more reason for insisting upon this term, or some other like it, in all serious and searching discussion. Not only outsiders, but insiders, draw sometimes a clear distinction between *Romanist* and *Catholic.* It was drawn implicitly, if not explicitly, by the majority among Roman Catholics in England, and even perhaps among Irish Bishops, before the Emancipation. Lord Petre and his fellow-emancipators would have been still less papalist than they were, except for the Protestant haste to brand them always and indiscriminately as Papists. And Newman, even in his retractation of, and apology for, his earlier anti-Roman lectures, implicitly admitted this distinction between true Catholicism and that which he had called Romanism.[11] Lord Acton, again, made the same distinction. It is only inferior minds which insist upon the public and universal use of a term which begs this most disputed question in all ecclesiastical history: minds which repose upon mere words as upon convincing realities. With just a little more sense of humour, they might be reminded of the immortal Mrs. Proudie.[12]

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[11] *Via Media,* 1887, Vol. I., p. xxviii.; full quotation in Appendix V.

"'A convicted thief,' said Mrs. Proudie.

"'Not convicted yet, my dear,' said the Bishop.

"'A convicted thief!' repeated Mrs. Proudie; and she vociferated the words in such a tone that the Bishop resolved that he would for the future let the word *convicted* pass without notice. After all, she was only using the phrase in a peculiar sense given to it by herself."

And we ourselves would willingly let pass the peculiar sense in which this word is used by a rival religious denomination, if our polite concession were not habitually used in what professes to be argument against us.[13]

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[12] A. Trollope, *Last Chronicles of Barset,* Vol. I., ch. xi.

[13] See Appendix VI.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I MUST begin by pleading that the very plain words I shall have to use in this book need not affect the majority of sincere Roman Catholics. I have Roman Catholic friends; I have, this year (1929), five Roman Catholic clergy in my different classes, who presumably come to me by their own choice or that of their Roman Catholic directors, since they might choose other subjects or other lecturers; and I write in the conviction not only that Roman Catholicism stands to gain by the truth, but also that many Roman Catholics recognise this in their own minds. I am not concerned with their Inner Life except in sympathy. As I have said publicly more than once, the Inner Life of the sincere Roman Catholic is inexpugnable. So long as he contents himself with saying " My Church's view of the universe is the only one which seems to me to explain things as they are; the Sacraments and services of my Church are, in my experience, the nearest road to Christ," no man can contradict him. He has found the pearl of price, and no man can take it from him. In so far as he truly looks to Christ, he must feel glad that others look to the same goal, even from widely different standpoints. It must console him, and not distress him, to think that the Quaker, who has no Sacraments and little organisation, and who yet does so much good among us, is looking and trying to walk in the same main direction as the Catholic.

But, when he goes beyond this sanctuary of the soul, he exposes himself to the chances and changes of this mortal life. And, especially in proportion as he allows his creed to blind him to the possibilities of truth in other directions—even to the possibilities of equal or greater truth in other directions—in that proportion he necessarily attacks others and equally necessarily challenges their criticism. They naturally ask him "By what authority?" and he can no longer content himself with saying, as he has said hitherto: "By my own intuition: I see the truth of these things, and no man shall convince me that they are not true." By such an inward conviction as this he has every right to guide his own life; but he has no right whatever to condemn others from this individualistic standpoint.

I believe that the large majority of good Roman Catholics avoid, as much as possible, not only saying, but even thinking these things. In so far as they felt compelled to say them, they would refer to their priest as their authority; it is their business to believe, to pray, to act, but it is the priest's business to tell them how they must believe and pray and act. The priest, therefore, if appealed to, gives the answer which he has learned in his seminary, or, in some cases, by private reading beyond his seminary course. What he learned at the seminary he believed more or less implicitly on the authority of his teachers; that is, of those who are licensed by the episcopate, which itself is controlled by the Roman Court. The seminary-teachers themselves will naturally profess a higher degree of knowledge than this. They are supposed to have worked out these things more or less for themselves, and they will therefore answer: "History says so-and-so." Constantly, therefore, the difference between Roman Catholic and other creeds turns upon historical points; for even some of those points which might seem most definitely theological have really an historical basis. The belief in Papal Infallibility, for instance, (which Father Woodlock tells us he embraces on the same grounds which lead him to embrace the divinity of Christ), is mainly an historical problem. Are we even certain that Peter was first Bishop of Rome? and how can we escape from certain historical facts which apparently prove that Popes have actually fallen into error in circumstances which led the public to believe that they were speaking *ex cathedra?* Constantly, therefore, the dispute between Romanist and non-Romanist is historical; and it is the aim of these pages to show how false the average Romanist historian is to generally-acknowledged historical method.

The ordinary pious Roman Catholic may perfectly well say here: "I do not bother about history; what I know is the present. The present Church is the guide of my life; that is my present and future comforter." From one point of view he is perfectly right: his Inner Life is independent of history. In so far as that Inner Life is true, it is probably far more independent even of dogma than he himself realises; he and the Quaker may heartily shake hands with each other. All historians of mysticism have noted how many are the common essential points; how difficult it often is to decide from internal evidence whether our mystic is a Christian, a Mohammedan or a Hindu. The average Roman Catholic, therefore, is perfectly justified in leaving these things alone.

But his clergy, and the controversial writers of his Church, do not leave them alone. It is not only that we from outside are necessarily often challenging them, either directly or indirectly; but they themselves seem quite as ready for attack as for defence, and the controversy constantly rages over historical points. On this ground they have two disadvantages which, from the purely historical point of view, are enormous.

If here, and in subsequent pages, I no longer say "it seems," but make my assertions without qualification, I must beg my reader to read that perpetual qualification into whatever I say. For a long time past I have adopted a principle, which has sometimes excited mild ridicule, of pledging myself in any important publication to correct as soon as possible, by errata-slips, whatever misstatements of facts on my own part may be brought to my notice. More than once, again, in challenging the misstatements of other authors, I have offered to them as many words for their defence, within the same covers, as I myself employ for the attack. I do this, not with the desire of provoking controversy, which at the age of seventy has certainly lost all the lustre of novelty for me, but because it seems an ordinary business-like method of guaranteeing to the public that the facts I put before them are as correct as can be expected among fallible human beings; as to the inferences, I write for those who are able to judge for themselves, so long as they can be sure of the facts. In default of some sort of Committee of the British Academy (which I am Utopian enough to think, might, if it had the courage, do for history something analogous to what is done for law and medicine by the Central Councils of those professions, and might check the worst scandals without really oppressing any honest worker), the most that can be done is that those who write on necessarily controversial subjects should give to their readers some such guarantee as this. Some men offer this already, through many years of work which the public has recognised as impartial; but, in the nature of the case, those men seldom descend (or ascend?) to subjects which excite the keenest and deepest human interests, and are, therefore, controversial. I may, therefore, ask my readers again to bear in mind that, even where brevity tempts me into the most definite appearance of dogmatism, every word in this book is written under offer of correction.

The Roman apologist, as I have said, works in history under two enormous disadvantages. First, he has to defend dogmas which his principles compel him to represent as almost, if not quite, immutable; and, secondly, those dogmas themselves, so far from fitting in easily with history and with ordinary human experience, are on their face highly paradoxical. The first of these necessities tempts him at every point to minimise the extent to which his religion has grown with the ages, and to ignore the startling contrasts between what is preached and written in modern English Romanism, as compared with what was preached and written in mediæval Rome. The second is more hampering still. Even before his Church was committed to Papal Infallibility, things were difficult enough; for the whole Roman apologetic system rests upon the assumption that this Church possesses the truth, not only beyond all other churches, but in a sense absolutely unique—in a sense which reduces the claims of all other churches to mere absurdities. As Dean Inge has wittily put it, the Roman Church advertises herself in a way which for very large numbers of people is the most convincing of all: she is like a soap-maker who tells the public not only that his own is the best soap, but that, whereas his will make you clean, all other soaps will only make you dirty. The initial difficulties of substantiating so bold a claim as this have been increased by Papal Infallibility, which now compels Roman Catholic historians to lay the utmost stress upon a doctrine which no Pope in Council was bold enough to proclaim until more than eighteen centuries after the Crucifixion. The layman needs to worry his head very little about Infallibility, except so far as it gives him a feeling of general comfort. The ordinary priest may easily explain it in an attenuated fashion which leaves little room for criticism; which makes it nearly harmless, but proportionately meaningless for all practical purposes. But the professional apologist, especially if he have any claim to speak as an historian, is under very great difficulties indeed. Hence we get this paradox, that, the higher a man's position in the Church, the less we can trust his word, even when he seems to be talking quite frankly with us on historical questions. A distinguished French Roman Catholic complains that, the more "competent" a scholar is reputed to be within his own communion, the more justification is there for a general suspicion of his real scholarship, since the hierarchy bestow their prizes mainly on the subservient.[1] These startling and unexampled Papal claims, which impose upon so many simple people who care more about real religion than about "Church matters," need to be supported by unexampled manipulation of evidence.

On this point we have the most explicit testimony from the most distinguished of Roman Catholics. It has often proved impossible to reconcile Roman claims with historical fact; and, in those cases, Cardinal Manning tells us plainly which of the two must give way. He wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* (Oct. 8th, 1875, col. 5): "The appeal from the living voice of the Church to any tribunal whatsoever, human history included, is an act of private judgment and a treason, because that living voice is supreme; and to appeal from that supreme voice is also a heresy, because that voice, by divine assistance, is infallible." How necessarily Manning's attitude is adopted by all who base themselves upon the dogma of Roman Infallibility may be seen from the argument of the Jesuit Father Coupe, in a pamphlet published by the Catholic Truth Society.[2] "If one Pope could be proved to have taught error *ex cathedra*," says this authorised exponent of modern Roman Catholicism, "the Catholic Church collapses like a house of cards, and Christianity collapses with it." Again, "If there be no such teacher [as an Infallible Pope] to enlighten us, then Christianity is a delusion and a dream; and there is nothing for us but, like the pagans of old, to cry out in anguish and desolation of heart: 'God there is none! Future life there is none! Let us drink and make merry, for to-morrow we die.'"

All the difficulties which the average thinker may find in a doctrine of that kind, have been plainly stated by the greatest of Roman Catholic historians of our age, Lord Acton. These difficulties, as he points out, are inherent in the claim of Papal Infallibility. The only unanswerable argument in favour of that claim is unanswerable only for the simple reason that it is also unprovable. It is implied in Pius IX's assertion that he himself was the one final authority on this subject, *la tradizione son'io.* The only answer to this kind of assertion is the answer of the mediæval scholastics, *Quod gratis asseritur, gratis negatur*—that which is asserted without proof may be denied without proof. Attempts to supply real proof from history, which should be our main guide in a matter of this kind, have failed most lamentably from the first. The greatest of living Roman Catholic historians in 1870 was Döllinger. Yet Döllinger chose rather to incur excommunication than to yield to what he felt to be a gigantic lie. Here is what he wrote at that time about the poisoning of history at its very source, in the Roman Catholic seminaries :[3] " Moreover, I undertake to prove that the Bishops of the Romance countries, Spain, Italy, South America and France (who formed the immense majority at Rome, together with their clergy), had already been misled on the matter of Papal authority by the text-books from which they had got their knowledge in the days of their seminary course; seeing that the documentary proofs contained in these books are to a great extent false, invented, or garbled. I will prove this first in the case of the two principal and favourite text-books in theological schools and seminaries of the present day—St. Alfonso Liguori's *Moral Theology* (especially the treatise on the Popes) and the *Theology* of the Jesuit Perrone; secondly, in the case of Archbishop Cardoni's and Bishop Ghilardi's writings, which were distributed in Rome during the Council; and, finally, in the case of the Viennese theologian Schwetz's *Theology.*" The Archbishop's reply of three days later declined to discuss these questions, which had already been decided by the Infallible Voice of the Church; the prelate, therefore, crudely excommunicated Döllinger in the words of St. Matthew xviii. 17, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican."[4] Döllinger's last public words on this subject were in 1887, when the Papal Nuncio wrote to ask him whether "the most holy Virgin of the Rosary, and your guardian angel," could not inspire him to retract his opposition and submit to Rome. He replied that he had first learned from his old masters, and then taught as Professor for four years in the Catholic Theological Faculty of Munich University, "that Papal Infallibility was an opinion of very late invention, tolerated at present in the Church; but that (in the words of a very widely circulated [Roman Catholic] catechism in English) it was a Protestant slander to assert that the whole Catholic world accepted the doctrine."[5] For such teaching, he added, he himself had received no official rebuke till after 1870: and now, at 88 years of age, on the brink of the grave, he must decline to assert the contrary of facts which he knew to be true in 1871, and of which he was still more convinced as time went on. He added, further, "When the Archbishop (obeying, as he said, the Pope's orders) communicated my condemnation to me, he sent me word that I was subject to all the pains decreed in Canon Law against the excommunicate. The first and most important of those pains is contained in the celebrated Bull of Pope Urban II., which decides that anyone may kill an excommunicated person, when the motive is zeal for the Church. At that same time, the

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[1] P. Desjardins, *Catholicisme et Critique.* 1904. p. 87.

[2] *The Alleged Failures of Infallibility,* pp. 2—3. It is now, I find, out of print; but I am not aware that any attempt has been made to disown its doctrines. The Catholic Truth Society works under the special blessing of the Pope.

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[3] *Letter to the Archbishop of Munich,* March 28th, 1871. p. lxxv.

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[4] Or, as the Archbishop himself wrote in German, "a heathen and a public sinner"—*wie ein Heide und ein öffentlicher Sünder.*

[5] The Archbishop of Baltimore, in his *History of the Reformation* (5th ed. 1866), had also stigmatised it as a Protestant fiction: see J. Friedrich, *Doc. ad Conc. Vaticanum,* etc., Vol. I. (1871), pp. 207—8.

Archbishop caused sermons to be preached against me in all the pulpits of Munich; and the effect of these declamations was such that the Chief Constable warned me that attempts on my person were being plotted, and that I should do well never to go out unaccompanied. May I venture to raise the question, Monsignor, whether, in case I now submitted, I should be obliged to publish to the world that I look upon this decision of the Infallible Pope as perfectly conformable to Gospel morality? . . . . What I have written here will, I think, suffice to show you that, with such convictions as mine, a man may enjoy inward peace and quiet of mind even on the threshold of eternity."

The greatest Catholic historian in the English language was Lord Acton, who had been Döllinger's pupil and friend, and who shared his dislike of the Vatican Decree. And Acton wrote to Gladstone, with great deliberation, the most terrible judgment on Ultramontane history—the history which supports Papal Infallibility—that has ever been delivered. He wrote in June, 1876: "I think you are too hard on Ultramontanes, or too gentle with Ultramontanism. You say, for instance, that it promotes untruthfulness. I don't think that is fair. It not only promotes, it inculcates, distinct mendacity and deceitfulness. In certain cases it is made a duty to lie. But those who teach this doctrine do not become habitual liars in other things."[6] Everybody, I think, whose work compels him to meet Ultramontane historians, especially in the mediæval field, will draw exactly this Actonian distinction between the writer's private virtues and his public failings.

No serious attempt has ever been made, so far as I know, to explain Döllinger's and Acton's words away.[7]

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[6] Figgis and Laurence, *Selections from the Correspondence of Ld. A.*, p. 43; cf. *Letters of Ld. A. to Mary Gladstone*, Introduction, p. lv.

[7] As apart from criticisms of detail upon Döllinger's *Janus*, to which I shall come in another volume.

In the case of Cardinal Newman, however, a formal defence has recently been attempted, though its author has declined to submit to cross-examination. Newman, after 19 years' experience of the Roman Communion (1864), was approached as to the foundation of a Catholic Historical Review. He wrote in reply to Father Coleridge: "Nothing would be better than an Historical Review for Roman Catholics—but who would bear it? Unless one doctored all one's facts, one should [*sic*] be thought a bad Catholic."[8] It has been pleaded that this damning verdict must not be taken at its face value. The most elaborate attempts to explain his evidence away were made by Fr. Leslie Walker, S.J., in the *Yorkshire Post,* the *Dublin Review* and the *Catholic World.* In all of these, Fr. Walker has accused me of guilty misrepresentation; of quoting Newman without due allowance for the context and the actual circumstances of the case. Therefore, I wrote to Fr. Walker, pointing out that, since the *Yorkshire Post* gave us very scanty space, and these other two periodicals do not suffer me, the heretic, to utter even a single word of reply, it would be more satisfactory if the question could be discussed in a civilised fashion in *The Modern Churchman,* where the Editor was willing to grant equal space to each of us, and even to give Fr. Walker the advantage of a brief last word. This offer Fr. Walker declined politely, but so firmly and categorically that it would have been foolish not to accept his refusal as final. I was, therefore, left to present my own view of the case in *The Modern Churchman,* and reprinted it as a pamphlet.[9] The Romanist public, however, naturally imagines Fr. Walker to have said the last conclusive word. Canon A. H. Villiers, of Birmingham, recently referred me to the *Dublin Review* article on "Controversialists' Methods" (1924), in which my "myth" had been exposed, and I had been convicted of falsifying Newman by tearing his words from their context. That is, the Canon, active champion as he is, knew only of the *ex parte* plea, and had no suspicion that my Jesuit had refused to submit to cross-examination. Romanist controversy lives upon ignorance of what can be seriously said on the other side. I quote this not in special blame of Fr. Walker, whom I understand to be an amiable and enthusiastic convert from Nonconformity to Romanism, but simply as an experience of a kind which all must be prepared for who try to drive these apologists out of their last ditch.

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[8] *The Month,* January, 1903, p. 3.

[9] *Roman Catholic History:* see list of authorities.

The attempt to show that Newman was writing of exceptional circumstances, which have since passed away, breaks down altogether. Moreover, Newman himself presents an example of the difficulty of reconciling " Roman Catholic Truth " with truth as generally understood. We may emphasise this more strongly, because we have here unquestionably the greatest of all English converts to Rome, and the man whose *Apologia* is not only a classic but the work of a very lofty mind. Yet, in that very book, he deliberately gives the reader to understand the exact opposite, on a question of capital importance, of what in private letters he was confessing to be the truth. In his *Apologia*,[10] he undertakes to combat the objection that real freedom of thought is hampered by the Roman Church. " I do not see, then, how any objection about the narrowness of theology comes into our question, which simply is, whether the belief in an infallible authority destroys the independence of the mind; and I consider that the whole history of the Church, and especially the history of the theological schools, gives a negative to the accusation." Then, after describing Catholic thought as he imagines it to have been in the middle ages (a description very false historically, but for which we must not hold Newman morally responsible, since he had taken it at second-hand from apologists of repute in his own Church), he proceeds :

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[10] Ed. 1880, p. 266.

"It is manifest how a mode of proceeding, such as this, tends not only to the liberty, but to the courage, of the individual theologian or controversialist. Many a man has ideas, which he hopes are true, and useful for his day, but he is not confident about them, and wishes to have them discussed. He is willing, or rather would be thankful, to give them up, if they can be proved to be erroneous or dangerous, and by means of controversy he obtains his end. He is answered, and he yields; or, on the contrary, he finds that he is considered safe. He would not dare to do this, if he knew an authority, which was supreme and final, was watching every word he said, and made signs of assent or dissent to each sentence, as he uttered it. *Then indeed he would be fighting, as the Persian soldiers, under the lash,* and the freedom of his intellect might truly be said to be beaten out of him. But this has not been so:—I do not mean to say that, when controversies run high, in schools or even in small portions of the Church, an interposition may not advisably take place; and again, questions may be of that urgent nature, that an appeal must, as a matter of duty, be made at once to the highest authority in the Church; but if we look into the history of controversy, we shall find, I think, the general run of things to be such as I have represented it." (Italics mine.)

Here we have him plainly denying the justice of those assertions as to the unfreedom of Roman theologians which were being made by outsiders. He scorns the idea (or gives his readers most definitely to understand that he scorns it) that the Romanist fights, like the Persian soldiers, under the lash. Yet, almost at this very moment, he was confessing to two correspondents at least, in practically the same words, the truth of that accusation which in the *Apologia* he was denying. We see this very clearly if we read the *Apologia* side by side with the extracts from his contemporaneous journals and letters in Ward's *Life,* but especially with the letters to Monsell and to Miss

Bowles.[11] There he writes: "The whole English-speaking Catholic population all over the world is under Propaganda, an arbitrary military power.[12] . . . And who is Propaganda? Virtually, one sharp man of business. . . . In this age at least, *Quantula sapientia regimur!* Well, if all this could be said of any human institution, I should feel very indignant; but it is the very sense and certainty I have of the Church being divine which at once makes it easier to bear. All this will be overruled; it may lead to much temporary mischief, but it will be overruled. . . . I should say all this without any reserve to my own Bishop, if he gave me the opportunity, for I think to do so is a duty of loyalty. But I do not expect any Bishop will try to find out what I, or anyone who sees what I do, thinks on the matter; and, therefore, I leave it to God. Meanwhile . . . the quasi-military power of Propaganda has the jurisdiction and the control of the intellect." This was in January, 1863, eighteen months before the Coleridge letter as to the "doctoring of facts," and fifteen before the beginning of the *Apologia.* Four months later, he harps on the same string (italics mine again): "But now, *to go to the root of the matter.* This country is under Propaganda. . . . *How can I fight with such a chain on my arm? It is like the Persians driven to fight under the lash.* . . . There are no schools now [in the Church], no private judgment (in the religious sense of the phrase), no freedom, that is, of opinion. That is, no exercise of the intellect."[13] He consoles himself with: "This age of the Church is peculiar . . . this is a way of things which, in God's own time, will work its own cure, of necessity." Yet, nowadays, everybody knows that, however Newman might then have consoled himself with the idea that

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[11] Acton's *Letters;* ed. Figgis and Laurence, p. 36; cf. Ward, I., 581—9, and II., 49.

[12] i.e. one of the Roman Congregations, the most powerful, perhaps, of all.

[13] Ward, I., 586 ff.

Propaganda would have less power in coming years, its power has, in fact, rather increased.

Here, then, I have quoted sweeping and emphatic generalisations from some of the greatest Roman Catholic writers, at moments when they spoke their real thoughts. We see that they wrote of their own Church's policy in terms which an outsider would hesitate to use, lest he should be set down as a mere bigot, incapable of comprehending any ecclesiastical denomination but his own. We must, of course, make allowance for irritation, for indignation and for the freedom of speech usual in private letters; yet, even with these allowances, we must ask ourselves: What institution has ever existed, with claims even approaching those of the Roman Church, concerning which it has been possible to use language of this kind? Anglicans and Nonconformists have been equally frank in their private letters; but has anyone of equal distinction condemned the historical methods of his own party with equal emphasis? For it must be noted there is, in this case, no question of what an Anglican Bishop has recently called "the underworld" of the Church. Newman and Acton and Döllinger are not aiming at the common herd; on the contrary, they strike implicitly, and even explicitly, at the very highest Romanists; and Döllinger would have agreed most emphatically with M. Desjardins, that the higher you go in that hierarchy the less you can trust a man's word, where the interests of his own denomination are concerned. Therefore these accusations, on the face of them, amount to this: that the staggering claims of the Roman Church (in so far as she differs from, and boasts her difference from, other forms of Christianity) are not only paradoxical but false. She has been tempted from generation to generation to exaggerate her spiritual supremacy; the contradiction between claim and fact has now become harsh and obvious; it has reached the point of patent absurdity: yet she is ashamed to abandon her claims, and therefore mere fact must go to the wall. The professional apologist must write in the vein of Pius IX.: "I am orthodoxy; and, in the interests of orthodoxy, I claim the right of asserting whatsoever I find it controversially convenient to assert."

Let me, therefore, again make Acton's distinction (which is, in effect, the distinction made by Döllinger and Fr. Tyrrell) between *Catholicism* and *Romanism.* Tyrrell died in the conviction that, though excommunicated, he was a Catholic, and Acton, in 1902, was "buried by the side of the daughter whose death-bed he had comforted with the words: 'Be glad, my child, you will soon be with Jesus Christ.'"[14]

There is a Catholicism which I believe to be profoundly true; the mystical experience of many pious and sincere people. Romanism, on the other hand, I believe to be a false creed, surviving partly as a superstition, partly because of its colourable imitation of true Catholicism, and partly, also, because, among those who believe themselves to have most definite evidence for its historical or philosophical falsehood, few care to spend time on a systematic exposure of it, or to descend into the arena with men who are practically the paid champions of a wealthy, powerful and unscrupulous military organisation. If these men are to be met at all, it is only by plain speech and by hard facts; and the best way of getting one's facts true is that of submitting them to ordinary business tests. Tyrrell, in 1906, indicated one strong controversial asset for the Society of Jesus, which he had just quitted for ever, after an experience of 16 years. "They live on the blunders of their critics. Instead of saying 'they have killed three men,' they say 'three men and a dog.' The Jesuits produce the dog alive, and win a repute as calumniated innocents." It is, therefore, to my own and to the public interest that I should confess errors of fact as openly as I may have originally published them. Of living Jesuit contro-

[14] *Letters to Mary Gladstone,* p. lxxv.

versialists in England, the oldest and most experienced is probably Fr. Herbert Thurston. This writer thought it worth while to publish recently a shilling booklet, *Some Inexactitudes of Mr. G. G. Coulton.*[15] In that volume he hinted that I might not be found honest enough to fulfil my promise of correcting lapses of fact, and quoted nine cases (pp. 55—6). The last five of these are not questions of fact, but of interpretation, all of which I have argued out fully with Fr. Thurston in my pamphlet. With regard to all the questions of fact, including one of which Fr. Thurston permits himself to say, " one does not feel sure that he would accept [this] correction," I had not the least hesitation in fulfilling my promise; they have long since been published on an errata-sheet and bound in my following volume; and, without waiting for this, I wrote at once to my assailant offering to " print at my own expense a list of such errors and send you a thousand copies for insertion in your booklet. For I wish to make it quite plain that I welcome all correction, from whatever source." He declined; it is no part of his policy to take the public into his real confidence; it pays far better to produce the dog, and pose as a calumniated innocent. It is only by insistent pertinacity that this kind of thing can be exposed; and now my readers will perhaps understand two things. First, why other scholars are tempted to leave these persons alone as " not worth powder and shot " (I quote here verbally from a distinguished mediævalist who disagrees with me on this question of controversy), and, secondly, why I, having been confronted with writers of this kind for some years past, feel bound to do what I can in this volume by speaking out my final mind. A sparrow-hawk, after all, is worth more powder and shot than a pheasant. Huxley had a different, but still more expressive metaphor to explain his continuance in controversy long after it had become a weariness to him : " When one has caught the wolf by the ears, one can't well let him go."

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[15] Sheed and Ward. It may be read in connection with a sixpenny pamphlet of mine, *Roman Catholic and Anglican Accuracy,* in which I publish *the whole* correspondence of which Fr. Thurston prints only as much as suits his purpose, deliberately breaking off at two final letters in which I had convicted him of gross and palpable inventions.

CHAPTER II.

HOW ROMANISM GREW.

THE Popes are not only the longest line of sovereigns upon earth, but from one point of view, their rule, for some centuries at any rate, is as legitimate as any rule has ever been. When the barbarian invasions came, the civil magistrate was often killed or swept away, while the bishop remained at his post. Consequently, the Church undertaking such acts of public beneficence as were undertaken at all, even extending sometimes to the upkeep of roads and bridges, the bishop became a natural governor in the city, and the Bishop of Rome naturally became something a great deal more than a mere city governor. It was only very gradually that he claimed to stand above temporal sovereigns, except in the most purely spiritual sphere. Gregory the Great, powerful and determined as he was, freely confessed his subjection to the emperor, even in a field which had some real claims to be considered as spiritual. The Emperor Maurice had made a law that no soldier, however anxious to leave the world for a monastery, might do so until he had served his full time in the army. Gregory, in face of this law, which as a churchman he cordially disliked, was far from questioning the Emperor's competence to enact it. On the contrary, he wrote most submissively to the Emperor and his Council: "I confess to my Lords that I was sore afraid of this law, for thereby the road to Heaven is shut to many men . . . . what am I but dust and a worm? Yet, feeling as I do, that this law tends against God who made all, I cannot be silent before my Lords. . . Being a man set under authority I have caused this law aforesaid to be sent on to divers parts of the earth . . thus paying what I owed to both parties, for I have rendered obedience to the Emperor on the one hand, while for God's sake I have spoken plainly that which I felt." Thus, even under this forcible protest, he had no doubt of his duty to obey the Emperor's commands and promulgate the law; the Pope himself, while rendering unto God that which is God's, recognised his plain duty to render to Caesar that which was Caesar's. Yet the distinctions of the Middle Ages gave so much opportunity of growth to the Papacy, and the Popes did so often prove superior in unselfish and consistent policy to the lay princes, that their claims naturally grew stronger and stronger, and it was possible for the world to doubt whether Pope or Emperor was really the God-ordained ruler of the world. It became more and more definitely recognised that the ideal government was that of Pope and Emperor in partnership, each absolute in his own sphere; yet those spheres were often difficult of delimitation. It was all very well to agree that Pope and Emperor should be conjointly supreme; that the people should obey both without question, and that neither should quarrel with the other; but when, as in human nature bound, Pope or Emperor was tempted to take a step which seemed to trespass upon the other's rights, the question was, Which shall give way? And this became the greatest of political problems as the Middle Ages wore on. It could not be decided definitely, but precedent after precedent was vague. Over and over again, the parties had been contented with a temporary understanding, leaving the fundamental question to be solved by their successors; as, for instance, when the Pope at Charles the Great's coronation had put the crown upon his head, yet, having performed this act which might imply patronage, immediately prostrated himself before the new Emperor with the servile obeisance of that time. Here, it was obvious, either side might claim the precedent in its own favour during the coming generations; and, if precedent was doubtful, still more was the authority of scripture, to which all parties nominally deferred. The Petrine text in Matthew xvi. was not applied to Peter's person by the majority of the earlier Fathers. The Rock, as the majority understood it, was not the man, but his confession of the Messiahship of Christ. On this scriptural ground, however, (and with Scripture proper we must here reckon the Fathers also) the Popes had an enormous advantage. In those days, when almost every educated man was a cleric, the clergy had not only the custody of the sacred books, but a practical monopoly of their interpretation. No book lends itself more easily than the Bible to a partisan interpretation. Therefore, as time went on, biblical texts were more and more definitely expounded in favour of papal claims. Moreover, where licence of interpretation was not enough, there came in the further licence of frank forgery. We must not only use, but emphasise, this downright word "forgery"; for, great as have been the injustices of every age, this question of forgery does really draw a strong line between the ages when deception was easy, and this modern time when it is more difficult. Dr. Barry confesses frankly on p. 133 :[1] "To manipulate ancient writings, to edit history in one's own favour, did not appear criminal [to the mediæval mind], if the end in view were otherwise just and good." The same truth is put in far plainer language by an Anglican though sympathetic mediæval scholar, Prof. T. F. Tout, on p. 15 of his *Mediæval Forgers and Forgeries* (1920). Forgery ran rampant all through the Middle Ages. "Such great persons, such powerful societies were accomplices in falsification that it required a rare share of public spirit for a humble critic to expose too coarsely their methods of manipulating documents." And on p. 6: "all practitioners of forgery had the 'benefit of clergy.' . . . I do not find that the church courts ever took cognisance of forgery at all."

Somewhere about the year 754, the forged "Donation of Constantine" was fabricated, either in the actual Chancery of Pope Stephen II. [III.] or at least in higher ecclesiastical circles at Rome. In it, Constantine is made to recite a demonstrably fabulous story of his cure from leprosy by Pope Sylvester I., and his consequent bestowal upon the Bishops of Rome of the lordship of Western Europe: " for it is not right that any earthly emperor should hold sway in that place where the Emperor of Heaven hath ordained the principality of priests and the head of the Christian religion." The story itself (Monsignor Duchesne thinks) was probably originally imported from Armenia as a pious legend in which nobody seriously believed at the time, or at any rate, did not care whether it was true or not, since it was edifying. Gregory I. took no notice of it whatever; if he had believed in it, it would have been a trump card in his hand against the Emperor Maurice. Yet, 250 years later, everybody believed the leprosy legend; and it was possible to base upon it this " singular document, most stupendous of all the mediæval forgeries, which, under the name of the Donation of Constantine, commanded for seven centuries the almost unquestioning belief of mankind."[2]

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[1] Rev. Canon Barry, D.D., *The Papal Monarchy.*

About a century later came another forgery, scarcely less stupendous, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. These were an astounding mixture of genuine and forged documents, purporting to represent papal enactments of the first six centuries. True, the primary object of this forger was not to exalt the interests of the Papacy. He was rather concerned, in the first place, to defend bishops against the tyranny of the archbishops, and clerical persons and property against lay encroachments. But, for both those objects, he had to appeal to the Pope as supreme arbiter. The compilation, therefore, exalts the papal supremacy; and it came at a time most opportune for papal policy. Therefore the Popes accepted it from the first. During the first few years, the authority of this book was contested here and there by those whose interests it crossed.

[2] J. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire* (1920), p. 99.

One of these doubters appealed directly to Pope Nicholas I.: "Have these decrees," he asked, "which do not appear in *Dionysius Exiguus* [an official compilation of about 500 A.D.] the force of actual law?" The Pope's answer was afterwards enshrined in Canon Law (Gratian, *Decretum* pars. I. dist. xix., c. 1). It shows clearly how successful was the forger's policy of "salting" his collection of false decretals with a few that were genuine. All pontifical letters (writes the Pope), have equal authority, whether they be contained in *Dionysius Exiguus* or not; and those papal letters which are in *Dionysius Exiguus* lend force and authority to those which do not happen to be in his collection. Thus this barefaced compilation of texts torn from their contexts, sometimes falsified, and ascribed to Popes who never wrote them, held its ground so completely for the rest of the Middle Ages that no formal distinction was ever made between them and the most authentic of later Papal decrees. Thus when, in 1408, Archbishop Arundel solemnly condemned certain Lollard tenets at the Council of Lambeth, he made no distinction between the man who contested the Church's interpretation of the Bible, and the man who contested papal decrees, including tacitly this Pseudo-Isidorian stuff. Both were alike heretics; the man who disputed a biblical text or rejected transubstantiation, and the other who rejected these decrees, forged by some Frankish cleric about 850 A.D. We may indeed make too much of the Forged Decretals in the history of papal encroachments. Nearly, if not quite, all of the steps which they sanction had been taken at one time or another before their publication; yet that publication was none the less a matter of supreme importance. We may easily find an analogy in modern politics. Our present English occupation of Egypt began much as the temporal power of the Pope began. It was the intervention of an orderly power to prevent disorder. It has justified itself in practice, at least as completely as the temporal power of the Pope was ever justified. Egypt has enjoyed more orderly government under us than ever before. Yet the occupation has very obvious constitutional flaws; and our position in Egypt would be quite different if somebody could produce, and persuade the whole world to believe, a State document from the Sultan of Turkey formally bestowing the sovereignty of Egypt upon Great Britain. It might be argued that no fresh details were contained in this document, and that it introduced no novelty; yet such a successful forgery might have the most decisive effect.[3]

We may pass now to the thirteenth century, the acknowledged crown of the mediæval ideal, the time which has been characterised by a modern professor at Louvain in words which may be accused of enthusiastic exaggeration, but which are as nearly true as such epigrams commonly are. He writes: "The Papacy [now] reaches the apex of its power; and, supreme over kings and emperors, it dominates every aspect of social activity. Everywhere a sort of stable equilibrium prevails. Men are proud of the way in which they have organised human existence. Is human progress really possible? The question is the more interesting because the thirteenth century believed that it had realised a state of stable equilibrium, and because their extraordinary optimism led them to believe that they had arrived at a state close to perfection."[4] The one thing omitted from this picture is that which more especially concerns us here. As applied to St. Thomas Aquinas and the mass of his contemporaries, Professor de Wulf's generalisation may well pass; but there were some thinkers even in the thirteenth century who were not orthodox, and a few also, who, though orthodox in the main, would have been far from subscribing to this optimistic dogma of an Age of Perfection, even within the theological and intellectual field alone. The *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas is habitually quoted, side by side with his *Summa contra Gentiles,* as the most perfect philosophical structure of the Middle Ages; yet his contemporary, Roger Bacon, criticised Aquinas in much the same terms as might have been employed by a modern critic. These younger men (writes Bacon, conscious of a slight superiority in age over St. Thomas), are in too great a hurry to round everything off into a complete scheme; and their work, apparently so perfect, is shaky at the very foundations. They base everything upon the Vulgate translation of the Bible, sometimes faulty in itself, and still more often corrupted by copyists' errors. They base it also upon an Aristotle still more often mistranslated or misunderstood.[5] Moreover, this imposing philosophical structure lacks altogether two of the main foundations of a complete philosophy, namely, the mathematical and physical sciences. But Bacon, though he had an interval of sunshine and encouragement from Clement III., was compelled to pass a great part of his life in unpopularity, and some years, apparently, in actual prison. Behind him were many more thinkers who had still less belief than he in the perfection of the reigning theology of the thirteenth century. Dante represents Hell as swarming with those who denied even the immortality of the soul. Scepticism of that kind was commoner in Dante's own Florence than in most places; and at the University of Paris there were solemn condemnations from time to time which reveal considerable licence of free thought among the professorate. What proportion these sceptics bore to the rest we shall never know, since a man carried his life in his hand if he preached unorthodoxy; but it cannot be doubted that the number of heterodox thinkers was considerable, and that many others lived in an uncomfortable borderland between belief and disbelief. Far too much attention is commonly paid to the logical perfection of the mediæval scholastic method, to its coinage of new philosophical terms, to the restlessness with which it pursued questions, once started, into every possible ramification. All these things are important; but far more important is the question of the premises from which Aquinas and his predecessors and successors started. To put it epigrammatically, and, therefore, crudely, the scholastic activity worked with restless activity, and with every logical refinement, upon a material which was in great part unworthy of all this labour. The *Summa Theologica* itself is built upon a foundation of popular theology which had gradually gained authority through the prescription of centuries. Many important points which St. Thomas never questioned, and which neither he nor any of his contemporaries could have publicly and pertinaciously questioned except at the risk of their lives, had not been systematically laid down from above into the fabric of church doctrine, but had crept in from below. All the last centuries of the Middle Ages are incomprehensible unless we realise the struggle of the official church to impose upon the world, under claim of perfection, a system of theology which was very far from perfect. The obstacles were insuperable, because they were rooted in human nature and in the facts of the case. These doctrines which left men unpersuaded, because they contained in themselves no sufficient force of complete persuasion, needed to be foisted upon them by forgery, or forced upon them by persecution.

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[3] The last scholar to attempt a defence of the genuineness of these decretals was the Spanish Benedictine, J. S. Aguirre, Professor of Theology at Salamanca and Secretary to the Inquisition in Spain, in the seventh dissertation of his *Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniae*. The book was printed in 1683, and the author was promoted to the Cardinalate in 1686; but no modern Romanist scholar takes his dissertation seriously.

[4] Maurice de Wulf, *Philosophy and Civilisation in the Middle Ages* (1922), pp. 18, 268. I have quoted these words several times before: not that they can be accepted absolutely, without such qualifications as are made in my text, but because even their exaggeration is significant in the light it throws upon the Roman Catholic ideal of stability.

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[5] This latter criticism holds good to a considerable extent even though Bacon unquestionably exaggerates the imperfections of the Aristotelian translations used by Aquinas, and the number and importance of misinterpretations. With regard to the Bible text in the thirteenth century, the learned Dominican, H. Denifle, admits that Bacon's complaints are justified.

Many instances might be chosen to bear this out: but it will be sufficient here to indicate how much of the mediæval theological system was conditioned by the barbarous eschatology of earlier ages. There is probably no important point upon which ideas have changed so much during the past thousand years as upon the future life. The gap is enormous, and not only between St. Thomas Aquinas and the modern Anglican, but also between him and the modern Roman Catholic. On certain questions of Heaven and Hell (which, after all, have been among the foremost in colouring men's thoughts on other subjects, however much we may regret this) it seems no exaggeration to say that the present Pope and his probable successors differ more widely from Aquinas in their inward thoughts, than Bunyan and Baxter did. For the eschatology of the seventeenth century Puritans was definitely mediæval; they conceived Heaven and Hell (apart from Purgatory, which the Middle Ages made into a sort of temporary Hell), as their forefathers had conceived them for more than a thousand years. On the other hand, the eschatology of educated Roman Catholics at the present day is essentially modern; and all questions of agreement between the Churches must depend to some extent on our recognition of this fact.

CHAPTER III.

HEAVEN, HELL AND THE BIBLE.

MEDIÆVAL scholastic theology, then, had the effect of crystallising traditions which in earlier days had been far more fluid. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that this crystallisation of from 1150 to 1300 A.D. is as remarkable as the acknowledged crystallisation due to the Council of Trent. When Peter Lombard wrote that book of *Sentences* which most of the prominent scholastics of later generations began their career by formally expounding and commenting, and which (as orthodox critics complained in the later Middle Ages) displaced the Bible itself as a prime source of study in the theological schools, he did this in partial imitation of his master Abailard. Abailard, in his *Sic et Non,* had marshalled for consideration and contrast the most important texts of the Bible and of the Fathers which seemed in any way to contradict each other. He had left his readers to find their own conclusions on each point, subject to certain very reasonable rules of interpretation which he expounded in his prologue. But Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris (d. 1164), went one step further than this. He apportioned his matter into four books, each of which is divided into certain *distinctiones;* and, in each case, after marshalling the contrary texts, he undertakes to decide between them. This, then, is the book upon which St. Thomas Aquinas (for instance) began his first serious philosophcial studies, and upon which he composed, for his earliest systematic lectures, that *Commentary* which we still possess. His master, Albert the Great, had done the same; his contemporaries, St. Bonaventura and Richard of Middleton, commented formally also upon the *Sentences,* and so did others down to the end of the Middle Ages. What is generally printed as the last section of St. Thomas's *Summa Theologica,* the *Supplementum,* is, in fact, taken from this commentary of his upon the *Sentences.*

Moreover, it was not to this classical text-book alone that Peter Lombard and Albert the Great and Aquinas were bound by tradition, but also to a whole body of theology, a great deal of which had grown up from more or less popular sources; and the tradition in eschatology had perhaps changed almost as much from generation to generation as in the matter of image-worship. The earliest Fathers repudiated such worship most emphatically. Origen insists that no Christian is so ill-educated as to imagine that he can raise his thoughts to the Unseen by gazing upon the seen. Yet, long before the days of the Schoolmen, the orthodox tradition in Latin Christianity had become very different from this. So, also, though it is impossible to doubt that the earliest Christians were informed by a strong spirit of charity, yet the persecutions inflicted upon them caused a gradual change, and had, in many respects, a steadily embittering effect. Justin Martyr, indeed, is so liberal as to place Socrates and other heathen philosophers among true Christians, since Socrates died for the truth, and Christianity is the Truth. But, as early as about 200 A.D., we find Tertullian gloating (the word is hardly too strong), upon the revenge which shall be taken in the next world upon those who, in this world, have cast Christians to the lions. The passage is sufficiently notorious, especially through Gibbon's fifteenth chapter, to absolve me from quoting it in full here. It is very easy to trace in the succeeding Fathers not only a terrible pessimism as to the numbers of the saved, but equally terrible imaginations as to the torments of the damned. With the barbarian invasions and the break-up of society, this gloomy side of Christianity gradually gathered emphasis; and so did that legalisation of the Creed which is so distinctive of mediæval philosophy.

A difference can be traced in very early times between Greek and Roman theological speculation. The Greek mind tended naturally towards treating the Bible and Tradition as matters for discussion, as providing philosophical theses which lent themselves to logical exposition in a hundred different directions. The Roman, on the other hand, had a mind far less nimble in disputation, more conservative and more dominated by the idea of law. It is no mere chance that the law which was finally codified and stereotyped by Justinian in the Greek capital of Constantinople was the law of the Roman republic and the earlier emperors. When the heathen invaders were converted, this legal side of religion was naturally emphasised still further by the teachers as the easiest way of reaching the minds of an untutored people. Harnack writes very truly: " The Teutonic and Romance nations learned all the ordinances of Church law as articles of faith, and, vice versa, the articles of faith as legal ordinances. Missionaries like St. Boniface, rulers like Charles the Great, took care that this should be so. When the heathen learned ' Whosoever will be saved, *must* hold to the following articles of faith,' or, again, ' all Christians *must* pay tithes to the priests,' or, again, ' any breach of the Ten Commandments *must* be atoned for by public penance,' the word *must* had exactly the same force in all three sentences." In other words, there was no clear distinction between " legally binding " and " morally binding."

Therefore, the eschatology of the Middle Ages is not only popular, but legalistic. Until Abailard's time the doctrine of the Atonement was generally conceived under definitely legalistic formulæ. In the least spiritual of these conceptions, the matter was represented as a bargain in a court of justice. The Devil, through original sin, has obtained legal possession of the whole human race; God Himself is too just to break the law by taking us violently from Satan's hands; therefore, He can only redeem us by taking man's flesh and shedding His blood for us, thus paying to Satan the only ransom which could equal and surpass in value those millions of souls which otherwise belong to Hell. Anselm mitigated this theory by treating it rather as a legal debate between God's justice and God's mercy; but Abailard was the first to repudiate all legalism in this matter.

In the domain of eschatology men had grown not only to believe in the horrors of the heathen hells added to the hell of their forefathers, but in the existence of a legal biblical sanction for things otherwise too awful to conceive. Horror is written in the Bible (they argued), and the Bible cannot err. There have been few more vital errors in historical perspective than to imagine bibliolatry as a product of the Reformation, and as having flourished only in the creeds which proclaim themselves as "evangelical." Biblical infallibility is explicitly asserted in the first volume of the *Corpus Juris Canonici.* Here St. Augustine is quoted: "I dare not believe that any [writer in the Canonical Scriptures] has erred in his writing"; "if even edifying falsehoods had been admitted into Holy Scripture, what authority would be left therein?"[1] Quotations from so great an authority, embodied in Canon Law, naturally reigned supreme; and F. Kaulen recognises this emphatically in his *History of the Vulgate* (Mainz, 1868, p. 33, with *imprimatur* of the Roman Church). He writes: "Just as everything was written for our learning, so everything in Holy Scripture has also come into being under the influence of inspiration, which was given precisely for the sake of teaching us. So many [early] testimonies can be produced for this view, that the opposite opinion, whenever and wherever it was expressed, stands as an exception. According to the view of Talmudic Judaism, the words 'Ham's sons are Cush and Mizraim,'[2] were as definitely dictated by God, as were those other words: 'I am the Lord thy God.' In the early Church we find St. Jerome, in especial, confessing quite decidedly for his own part: 'I have not been so dull of heart and so stupidly ignorant as to imagine that any of the Lord's words is either capable of correction, or not inspired by God.' By most of the Fathers, and by the mediæval theologians, this view was so strongly embraced that they even denied independent composition to the holy writers; but this extreme has often called forth the opposite view, which, in the well known thesis of the Jesuit du Hamel, was repudiated by the theological faculties of the seventeenth century."[3]

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[1] Gratian, *Decretum* pars. I. dist. ix. cc. 5, 7. This is quoted as classical by succeeding authors; e.g. St. Antonino of Florence, *Summa Major,* pars. IV. tit. x. c. 2 (ed. 1740, Vol. IV., p. 550). Ockham, again, bases himself upon this, and writes: "Augustine is speaking of writings, for which we have an equal reason for giving credence to every part. And of all such writings this holds true, viz., that, if only one part were found to be false, then no part of that writing could command our credence on the ground that it is therein contained. But Holy Scripture is a writing of that kind; for we must believe in every assertion therein contained, for the reason that it is therein written and asserted by inspiration of the Holy Ghost." (*Dial.* p. 822.)

It would be difficult to assert biblical infallibility more definitely than it is asserted by St. Thomas Aquinas, except so far as this is tempered by growing ideas of papal infallibility. St. Thomas would have entirely agreed with the Clapham school of a hundred years ago, or with the modern American Fundamentalist, until it came to questions as to the interpreting authority. One side would then plead for private judgment, the other would insist on a Teaching Voice, especially represented by the Pope; yet there would still be no dispute as to the absolute inerrancy of the Sacred Text. According to St. Thomas, the first interpretation of Holy Writ must be "the historical or literal," in which one word may, indeed, have different significations according to different contexts. But "the literal sense is that which the Author intends and the Author of Holy Writ is God." "There can be no falsehood anywhere in the literal sense of Holy Scripture." Consequently, even the smallest assertions of fact are inerrant; for instance, to deny that Elkanah was Samuel's father would be contrary to the Catholic Faith, "for it follows that the Divine Scripture would be false."[4]

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[2] Genesis x. 6. Kaulen, apparently by a slip, has *Kain* here for the Vulgate *Cham.*

[3] This thesis ran: "It is not necessary that the separate truths and sentences should have been directly inspired to the writer himself by the Holy Ghost."—*Non est necessarium, ut singulae veritates et sententiae sint immediate a Spiritu sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratae.*

A couple of generations later, William of Ockham dealt with the same point. He had many reasons for differing from St. Thomas, not only as a Franciscan, (to whom Dominicans were by that time often rivals and almost enemies), but also because he did not share the standpoint of Aquinas on several important questions. Yet on this question of Biblical inspiration he is, if possible, still more emphatic. He recurs to it over and over again in his *Dialogus*. The Pope himself may not contradict any biblical detail; it would be heresy in a Pope "if, for instance, he were to preach that David was not the son of Jesse, or that Jeroboam had not been King of Israel." In other places he gives similar concrete instances; it would be heretical to deny that Solomon was Bathsheba's son, "or that Pilate did not send Christ to Herod at the time of His passion, or that the Apostles and other believers, mentioned in Acts iv., were proprietors and owners of the portions assigned to them."[5] This

[4] *Sum. Theol.* pars. I., quaest. i., art. 10; *ibid.* quaest. xxxii., art. 4 (printed more fully in App. I.). Compare pars I. quaest. cii., art. 1, and IIa. IIae. quaest. xcviii., art. 3, where the question of different significations comes in.

[5] In M. Goldast's *Monarchia,* Vol. II. 1614, pp. 535, 615, 618. For other passages on scriptural authority, some almost as strong as these, see pp. 411, 415, 423, 449, 452, 616, 627, 707 (heretical to deny David's polygamy), 689, 721 (to deny that Joab was son of Zeruiah), 753 (that Elisha prophesied after Elijah), 822—3, 839, 842.

latter instance has a special significance; for Ockham was a champion of the doctrine, held by the "spiritual" Franciscans, that neither Christ nor His Apostles had possessed anything of their own, so that the highest evangelical perfection must involve a Franciscan or quasi-Franciscan renunciation of all worldly goods. It was a burning question, in which not only saints took opposite sides, but Popes also; and John XXII. formally condemned the doctrine as heretical in 1323. But, in the meantime, one of the strongest arguments for the side eventually taken by the Popes rested upon the most literal interpretation of one of the most insignificant words in the whole Bible. Christ, speaking to Peter after the Malchus incident, had said: " Put up *thy* sword into the sheath," and not merely "*the* sword." Therefore we can prove from Christ, who is The Truth, as reported unerringly by the Holy Ghost speaking through St. John, that at least one Apostle possessed at least one piece of private property: *ergo* . . . . . .

It was inevitable that this mechanical view of inspiration, almost universal in the Middle Ages, should help to stereotype the lurid eschatology natural to a religion which for generations had been unjustly persecuted, and then, for many generations more, had rubbed shoulders with Pagan superstitions, stooping often in order to conquer. All those dismal ideas which had been taught by the ancient priests, and had been seized upon by missionaries as natural channels of approach to the conscience of these half-converted barbarians, could be more or less substantiated by certain Bible texts. These, therefore, were not only insisted upon in their most literal crudeness, but even exaggerated; the preacher then, as in all other ages, was tempted to read his own ideas into the sacred books, and to find in his text not only the plain first-sight meaning, but all other meanings which could be extracted from it without absolute violence. Thus St. Jerome, concerned to find proof of the resurrection of the body with all its parts, discovers this, beyond all controversy, in Matt. xxii. 13; for how would it be possible for the damned to weep, if they had no eyes? and who can gnash his teeth, that has no teeth to gnash? (*Com. in Isaiam* lib. xviii. c. 66; Migne P.L. Vol. 24, col. 763.) And, to realise the full significance of this, we must note the further history of Inspiration in the Roman Church. The Council of Trent, in its third session, decreed that the Bible had been written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost, and added: "If anyone receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books entire *with all their parts* as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition; and knowingly and deliberately contemn the traditions aforesaid, let him be anathema." (Italics mine.)

The Vatican Council of 1870 renewed this decree, adding: "We anathematise all who do not receive as sacred and canonical the books of Holy Scripture in their integrity, with all their portions, as enumerated by the Holy Council of Trent, or who may deny that they are divinely inspired." It must be remembered, also, how seriously this attitude is affected by the tendency to regard the Vulgate translation as separately inspired. Richard Simon, in the seventeenth century, found himself confronted with the saying of Cardinal Ximenes, that the Vulgate stands between the Septuagint and the Hebrew like the Roman Church between the Synagogue and the Greek Church; that is, like Jesus Christ between the two thieves.[6] Even in modern times, I have met with a passage in which a Romanist writer cites a text from the Vulgate as from " the original."

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[6] J. Denis, *Richard Simon et Bossuet.* Caen, 1870. p. 19. The actual words of Ximenes are to be found in the first column of his Preface to the Complutensian Polyglot. "Between these two [the Hebrew and the Septuagint] we have printed the Latin translation of St. Jerome, as between the Synagogue and the Eastern Church; thus we have, as it were, placed the two thieves on either side, and Jesus (that is, the Roman or Latin Church) in the midst."

Yet these Vatican decrees were behind even their own times; and the progress of biblical study, slow as it was in the Roman Church, began to burst these mediæval bonds. In January, 1893, Leo XIII's attention was called to a very disquieting state of things by one of the most distinguished theologians in France, Monsignor d'Hulst. In that country, as in nearly all civilised countries of the globe, the Romanist clergy had gradually begun to study the Bible in the light of modern scholarship. Yet Italy was still far behindhand; as a Roman Catholic writer puts it: " Rome seemed still to ignore these studies completely; in the great pontifical schools—the Gregorian University, St. Apollinare, and the College of the Propaganda,—criticism and exegesis were left untouched; *a fortiori*, nobody cared for them in the diocesan seminaries of Italy."[7] Leo XIII. was impressed; he made a serious attempt to further Biblical studies; but, unfortunately, he was still more concerned to fix very precise limits for such studies. In his encyclical *Providentissimus*, which followed closely upon Mgr. d'Hulst's protest, he definitely repudiated " those who do not shrink from asserting that Divine Inspiration pertains to matters of faith and morals and nothing else." And he continues: " All those books in their entirety, which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, with all their parts, were written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost." Men, it is true, held the pen; but " He, by His supernatural power, so impelled and moved them to write, and so assisted them as they wrote, that they conceived aright in their minds, and were willing faithfully to record, and aptly expressed with infallible truth, all those things, and those things alone, which He commanded; otherwise, He would not Himself be the author of all Holy Scripture. This is what the Holy Fathers have always held [quotations

[7] Pernot, p. 221.

from Augustine and Gregory I.]. It follows, that those who hold the possibility of any falsehood being contained in the genuine texts of the Sacred Books, are either perverters of the Catholic notion of Divine Inspiration, or make God Himself the author of error."[8] Here we have the bibliolatry of the Middle Ages and Trent and the Vatican reasserted; and, presently, the Pope's hand was forced still further. A certain number of priests were now admitting (what scholars outside the Roman communion had realised centuries earlier) that the verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7) is spurious. The congregation of the Inquisition decreed (Jan. 13th, 1897) that this verse "could not safely be condemned as unauthentic, or even called in doubt." All real scholars were aghast; for such a decree exposed Rome to public derision. The impression produced in France was disastrous.[9] In England, the dismay was so great that Cardinal Vaughan resorted to one of those strokes of diplomacy by which his Church has so often remedied a desperate situation.[10] He procured, for the benefit of the English faithful, a sort of back-door exit. He wrote a letter to Wilfrid Ward, a mere layman, assuring him "I have ascertained from an excellent source that the decree of the Holy Office on the passage on [*sic*] the 'Three Witnesses,' which you refer to, is not intended to close the discussion on the authenticity of that text. The field of Biblical criticism is not touched by this decree." The good Cardinal omitted to explain what field was touched, if not that of Biblical criticism; and his pronouncement itself was never published in any official way. Wilfrid Ward, I believe, sent it to *The Guardian*—for the edification of Anglicans—but, when, at the Cambridge Congress of 1921, the Jesuit Fr. Lattey wanted to produce a voucher for it, he

[8] *Acta Sanctae Sedis,* Vol. XXVI. (1893—4), pp. 288—9.

[9] See, for instance, *Autour,* p. 27; *ce qu'on a fait,* p. 353.

[10] See pp. 17, 49ff, 63, of my *Roman Catholic Church and the Bible* (3rd ed. Simpkin Marshall and Co. 1921. 2/-).

was obliged to refer to the columns of a French journal of very limited circulation, the *Revue Biblique*. Moreover, the writer who quoted it in that *Revue* had found so little other authority for it that he thought it prudent to write first to the Cardinal and make sure that his Eminence had actually said this strange thing. At this Cambridge Bible Congress, again, two Cardinals were present; yet neither of them committed himself to a repetition of Cardinal Vaughan's explanation; they left that to two comparatively young priests, who might be disavowed whenever it was convenient. The French clergy are more logical than the English; and they treated Cardinal Vaughan's manœuvre as it deserved.

In Germany, the affair was apparently patched up informally, for a time at least, after the same fashion as in England, since it has been possible for two German Romanists (as the Jesuit Fr. Lattey pointed out to me in triumph) to reject this notoriously spurious verse. But one of these wrote in a learned treatise intended only for scholars, and the other expressed himself in an edition of the New Testament in its original Greek, a language which is notoriously unknown to at least 90 per cent of the Romanist clergy, and which might almost as well be Chinese so far as the laity are concerned.

In 1896, the Papal Biblical Commission went one step further, and solemnly declared that the arguments "amassed" by critics against the mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are insufficient. That commission included men who cannot possibly have adhered to the decree in the ordinary sense of human language, for in some cases they had expressed the contrary in print. Yet, in practice, the decree might quite legitimately be interpreted with a rigour that would satisfy the most bigoted American fundamentalist. The most learned of English-speaking Roman Catholics, Baron Friedrich von Hügel, uttered a cry of despair.[11] And, upon ordinary clergy and laity, it weighs like

[11] *Crise*, p. 330.

lead; for " the Papal *motu proprio* of Nov. 8th, 1907, declares that 'all, without exception, are bound in conscience to submit to the decisions [of the Biblical Commission on matters of doctrine] even as they would be bound to submit to the papally-approved decrees of the Holy Congregations; and those who speak or write against these decisions cannot avoid the stigma of disobedience and temerity; therefore they cannot be exempt from grievous fault, quite independently of the scandal which they would give, and of the other sins for which they might have to answer before God, for their errors and temerities which generally accompany resistances of this sort.' "[12]

Therefore, as lately as 1903, the official Catechism of the Diocese of Paris gave an exact year for the creation of the world.[13] Even later, " in the seminary of a great [French] diocese, a professor has begun again to teach, without for a moment believing it, that the world dates from 4004 B.C. So long as he does this, he is safe."[14] Safe, that is, from the storm of espionage and talebearing which accompanied these papal pronouncements.[15]

In so far as the Roman Catholic Church has worked itself free from Bibliolatry, it is in a great measure under pressure from without; and the change is hardly avowed. Therefore we must always be prepared for the most crudely literal interpretation of a biblical text. The Petrine claims rest on a literal reading of this kind; and, though popes and theologians might use the wildest licence of interpretation to suit their own theories, such interpretations claimed always to be supplementary to, and not in any sense contradictory of, the plain literal meaning. Innocent III., for instance, might attempt to prove to the Greeks that he had power of life and death over them, because Peter leapt into the sea to join our Lord, and because at another time Peter walked upon the sea (the sequel is conveniently ignored), and because *sea* or *water* are interpreted by glossators of the Psalms as referring mystically to the whole world.[16] There we have allegory run wild; yet, with regard to the literal sense of the Bible, Innocent would have written as Aquinas wrote, and would cheerfully have burned any man who should have impenitently maintained that Samuel's father was other than Elkanah.

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[12] *Ce qu'on a fait,* pp. 350—2. See also cf. Appendix II. here below.

[13] *Autour,* p. xiv.

[14] *Crise,* p. 108.

[15] See especially *Ce qu'on a fait,* Chap. vii., " Vigilants and Talebearers."

Aquinas, in fact, definitely recognises that no licence of allegory can abolish the literal sense. We may, he says, allegorise the Tree of Life as meaning, spiritually, Free-Will; yet we must not, on that account, doubt either the geographical or the botanical facts enunciated in Genesis iii. Paradise is " a place situated in the Eastern parts "; and the Tree of Life is " a certain material tree called by that name "; for " in all things thus handed down by Scripture, the historical truth must be taken as fundamental, and our spiritual expositions must be erected on that foundation" (*Sum. Theol.* Pt. I. q. 102). When Newman wrote that " the plenary inspiration of Scripture is peculiarly a Protestant question, not a Catholic," and " supposing, for argument's sake that it could be proved that some passage in the Pentateuch about Egyptian history were erroneous . . . it would not affect a Catholic," he showed something more than his ordinary ignorance of mediæval (as apart from early patristic theology). I give further evidence in Appendix III.

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[16] Ep. II. 209 of his Register; Migne P.L., Vol. CCXIV., col. 758. For fuller extracts, see Appendix III.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLESSED AND THE REPROBATE.

GOING back now to the crude Bibliolatry of the Middle Ages—for the phrase is not exaggerated—we may see more clearly how the theology of that time not only forced men into the most literal interpretation of Christ's minatory words, but persuaded them that they did God service by reading backwards into the Bible those semi-barbarian notions of heaven and hell which Christianity had caught from the half-redeemed mass of paganism which she was slowly converting and assimilating. St. Jerome was a most learned scholar, and a man of conspicuous ability in other ways; moreover, he had often the keenest sense of ridicule; Sir Samuel Dill held him up as comparable in satire to Juvenal. Yet, on this question of biblical eschatology, we have seen how he was hypnotised with the rest; his absurdity of literal interpretation is as glaring on this side as the allegorical absurdities of Innocent III. on the other.

The Middle Ages, therefore, and the centuries far beyond, laid the most pitiless emphasis on Matthew xx. 16: *Many are called, but few are chosen.* Equally pitiless was the emphasis they laid upon two texts which spoke of God's vengeance upon the enemies of religion: Ps. lvii. 11 (Vulg.). *The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge,* and Isaiah lxvi. 24. [*The elect*] *shall go out and see the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me, their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched.* The tale of Dives and Lazarus, again, seemed definitely to teach the same moral, and Saint Gregory the Great's exposition of this text became classical.[1] This exposition is so important that I must quote it as fully as possible.

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[1] *Homil. in evang.* lib. II. Homil. 40. (Migne P.L. Vol. LXXVI. col. 1308.) To avoid cavil, I frequently quote the Bible from the R.C. (Douay) version.

St. Gregory writes: "They who wish to cross from the abode of the Blessed to those who are afflicted and laid in torments cannot do so; because the souls of the Just, (although in the goodness of their nature they have pity), yet they, being conjoined with the justice of their Creator, are constrained by such rectitude that they are moved by no pity for the Reprobate; for they are in agreement with the Judge to whom they cling, and they would not condescend even in pity to those whom they cannot snatch [from their torments], because they then see those souls so far strangers to themselves as they are evidently cast away by Him their Creator whom they love. Therefore the Unrighteous, again, do not cross to the lot of the Blessed; because they are bound in perpetual damnation; nor can the Righteous cross over to the Reprobate; because they now, raised up by the justice of the Last Judgment, do in no way commiserate them with any compassion. . . . Now the Righteous always behold the Unrighteous in their torments, in order that their joy may grow therefrom, because they behold the evil which in mercy they have escaped, and they give all the greater thanks to Him who hath saved them, in proportion as they see in others that which they themselves, if they had been left to themselves, might have suffered; nor is that great clarity of beatitude in the righteous man's mind obscured by the sight of the pains of the Reprobate, because, where there will now be no compassion for misery, unquestionably it will not avail to diminish the greatness of the Blessed; for why should we wonder if, while the Righteous behold the torments of the Unrighteous, this may accrue to them as an addition to their joys? since, even in painting, black colour is laid on in order that the white or the red may seem the more brilliant. For, as we have said, their own joys in good do increase, in proportion as the evils of the Damned which they themselves have escaped are presented to their eyes; and, although their own joys are fully sufficient for their enjoyment, yet we cannot doubt that they always behold the evils of the Reprobate, because nothing is done in all creation which cannot be seen by those who see the glory of their own Creator."

This pronouncement, then, became classical, and it is evidently this which mainly decided Peter Lombard when he came to the subject at the end of his *Sentences*.[2] There he writes: "Men are wont to ask whether those who are in hell and those who are in glory see each other. It is the tradition of the Saints that the good see the evil and the evil see the good until the Day of Judgment; but, after the Judgment, the good shall see the evil but the evil shall not see the good. Thus Gregory saith 'The faithless down below await the faithful above them in rest until the Day of Judgment; after which they cannot contemplate their glory.' But, since the Saints see the wicked in torments, are they not moved with some pity for them? Do they not desire that they should be free from their torments? Remember that word of the Gospels which Abraham answered to the rich man: *Between us and you there is fixed a great chaos, so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot, nor from thence come hither.* What is this chaos between good and evil, but righteousness on one side and iniquity on the other, which can in no wise be brought together? for the Saints are so devoted to God's justice that they cannot cross to the Reprobate by any pity, nor can they make any intercession for them. How, therefore, do some wish themselves to cross unto them, yet are not able? Because, if God's justice permitted, their liberation would not be sorrowful for them. Or they are said to wish and not to be able, not because they wish and are not able, but because, even though they wished, they would not be able. On this matter Gregory saith thus: 'Even as the Reprobate wish to cross from the abode of the Blessed to the glory of the Saints, and cannot, so also the Just through pity would be willing in mind

[2] Lib. IV., Dist. l. e, f, g.

to go to those who are laid in torments, in order to free them; but they cannot; for the souls of the Just, (although in the goodness of their nature they have pity), yet now, being conjoined with the justice of their Creator, are moved by no pity for the Reprobate, for they are in agreement with the Judge to whom they cling.'

"Lastly, we ask, does the pain of the Reprobate darken the glory of the Blessed? On this, Gregory saith as follows: 'In the mind of the Righteous the sight of the pains of the Reprobate does not darken the clarity of beatitude, because where there will now be no compassion for mercy, unquestionably it will not avail to diminish the greatness of the Blessed; for why should we wonder if, while the Righteous behold the torments of the Unrighteous, this may accrue to them as an addition to their joys; since, even in painting black colour is laid on in order that the white or the red may seem the more brilliant; for, as we have said, their own joys in good increase in proportion as the evils of the Damned which they themselves have escaped are presented to their eyes; and, although their own joys are fully sufficient for their enjoyment, yet we cannot doubt that they always behold the evils of the Reprobate, because nothing is done in all creation which cannot be seen by those who see the glory of their own Creator.' But we must not wonder if the Saints who are now immortal see the Reprobate with that understanding mind, since the prophets even in this mortal life were thought worthy to see all these things. Therefore the elect shall go forth (not in place, but in intelligence or in plain vision) to see the torments of the Unrighteous; and, seeing these, they will not be affected with grief but will be sated with gladness, giving thanks for their own liberation and seeing the ineffable calamities of the Unrighteous. Therefore, Isaiah, describing the torments of the Unrighteous and expressing the gladness of the Good from the sight of them, saith: [*The elect*] *shall go* *out and see the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me, their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched;* also *The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge.*"

Even more inexorable became the interpretation of that text *Many are called, but few are chosen.* I have published a catena of quotations on this subject in *Five Centuries of Religion,* Vol. I., pp. 445 ff, and Vol. II., pp. 665 ff. To these I could now add several more. St. John Chrysostom, preaching at Ephesus, said, "It is a hard saying, but I will speak out; among so many tens of thousands [who dwell in this city] there are not one hundred who walk in the way of salvation; nay, even of these I have my doubts" —*ἀλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφισβητιῦ.*[3] And so on down to Dionysius the Carthusian, in the latter thirteenth century, who conceives the damned as so preponderant that, by poetic licence, we may almost call them *all* mankind. The great Bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne (d. 1249), wonders how hell will be able to contain the numbers who are destined for it. St. Thomas Aquinas, who is nearly always the most balanced of all Schoolmen in his judgments, can yet speak of the saved as "a few" and the damned as "very many";[4] and, long after the Reformation, the orthodox philosopher, Malebranche, argued from this disproportion as an admitted fact. A very common mediæval comparison is that of Noah's Ark for the saved, in contrast with the rest of mankind; and one of the heretical propositions for which Raymond Lull was condemned by the Pope in the fourteenth century runs thus: "God hath such love for His people that almost all folk in the world shall be saved, for if more were damned than saved, Christ's mercy would be without great charity."[5]

[3] *In Act. Apost.* hom. xxiv.: Migne P.G. Vol. LX. col. 182.

[4] *Sum. Theol.* Pars. I., Quaest. 23. Art. 7.

[5] Eymericus, *Directorium Inquisitorum,* Pars. II., Quaest. 60. (ed. Rome, 1585. p. 275, col. 2c.)

We are now in a position to understand St. Thomas's treatment of this question. He did not live to finish his *Summa Theologica,* and the unfinished part is supplied under the title of *Supplementum* from his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences.* We must remember the enormous authority which this textbook had earlier acquired. Therefore, on this subject of Heaven and Hell, as on that of image-worship and many others, St. Thomas had practically no choice with regard to his premises. If he had started from the point of view (which is probably that of nearly all modern thinkers) that there is nothing in the Bible or in apostolic tradition which need absolutely force us to these terrible conclusions, then he would have found himself in definite conflict with orthodoxy as it was understood in his day. The most he could have done, therefore, as a perfectly orthodox theologian, would have been to imitate his great predecessor the Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, the first of the really great Schoolmen to comment on the *Sentences,* who does his best to ignore this passage from Peter Lombard, and deprecates too close enquiry into these mysteries beyond the grave.[6]

But St. Thomas aimed at producing something more complete than Alexander, or even than his own master Albert the Great. He aimed at a finished and exhaustive synthesis of all theological questions which could in any sense be called of primary importance. He must, therefore, face Peter's conclusion, and face it after the method begun by Hales and perfected by himself; the method which, from this time forward, became classical among the Schoolmen. First, the authorities or arguments must be recited on the side to which Thomas does not himself incline: then the arguments on the contrary side: then he gives his own judgment; and lastly, before passing away from the subject, he answers, one by one, those arguments which had seemed to tell against his conclusion. In other words, he plays four separate parts, advocate on both sides, then judge, finally judge of appeal. My opponents in the *Daily Telegraph* discussion accused me of dishonesty in the brief quotations which I gave from St. Thomas's detailed treatment of the question; Mr. Belloc asserted that, by suppressing thirty-four words (which he himself now supplied), I had made the Saint say "the exact opposite" of his real words. To this, my main reply was to reprint in a leaflet, for distribution *gratis,* the whole of that section from Aquinas, as translated by the English Dominican Fathers, in order that the public might judge between us.[7] Meanwhile, I printed, in the *Daily Telegraph,* my own original quotations, together with the thirty-four words which Mr. Belloc claimed as essential for the full truth; the whole, thus corrected, runs as follows:[8] "Nothing should be denied the blessed that belongs to the perfection of their beatitude. . . . . . Wherefore in order that the happiness of the saints may be more delightful to them and that they may render more copious thanks to God for it, they are allowed to see perfectly the sufferings of the damned. . . . Therefore the blessed in glory will have no pity on the damned. . . . A thing may be a matter of rejoicing in two ways. First, directly, when one rejoices in a thing as such; and thus the saints will not rejoice in the punishment of the wicked. . . . And thus the Divine justice and their own deliverance will be the direct cause of the joy of the blessed, while the punishment of the damned will cause the joy indirectly."[9]

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[6] St. Thomas's master, Albertus Magnus, quietly ignores these terrible paragraphs of Peter Lombard. (*Opp.* Vol. XVI. Lyons, 1651. p. 919.) One of the latest mediæval commentators is Petrus Tartaretus, who was lecturing at Paris about 1509; he also ignores them as much as he dares. (*Comment. in IV. Lib. Sent.* Venice, 1607. p. 485.)

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[7] A good many copies of this leaflet are still left; any reader who sends a stamped and addressed envelope may still receive a copy.

[8] For the full text of the whole section from Aquinas, see Appendix IV. of this present volume.

Even this brief summary may show clearly the limitations under which St. Thomas necessarily worked. In his effort to deal completely with his subject as prescribed in the *Sentences,* he necessarily trod upon ground which Albert the Great and Alexander of Hales seem carefully to have avoided, and, on this ground, he came to conclusions which, even when we have given weight to all his qualifications, will certainly seem painful and unnecessary to the majority of modern readers. In these circumstances, we may fairly feel that it is some real detraction from his greatness as a philosopher that he should never have gone back to reconsider his premises. On the other hand, he certainly concludes in a milder sense, on the whole, than his great Franciscan contemporary, St. Bonaventura, and this is all the more remarkable, since we might expect a Franciscan to show the maximum of sensitiveness to suffering which might be compatible with the current doctrines of his day. Here is St. Bonaventura's conclusion (In. *IV. Sent.* dist. l. p. ii. art. 1, q. 3): "Do the Blessed and the Damned recognise each other? We must say, in answer to this, that the consideration or knowledge of the glory of the Blessed is a pain to the Reprobate, and the consideration or knowledge of the pains of the Reprobate is a joy to the Elect; for the former consider [this] glory under the category of loss; the latter under that of divine vengeance; as the Psalmist says [Ps. lvii. 11, Vulg.], 'The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge.'

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[9] One point here, as I remarked at the time, must be carefully noted. The word *thus,* which is used by the Dominican Fathers in their translation, is ambiguous in English; it may mean either "in this way," or "therefore." But there is no such ambiguity in St. Thomas's Latin; his word is not *ergo,* but *sic,* i.e. "in this way," answering to the *alio modo* of his next sentence. To grasp his meaning quite clearly, therefore, the reader must substitute "in this way" for the "thus" of the Dominican translators.

Since, therefore, the glory of the Elect is enduring, and will be more copious after the Last Judgment, therefore the Elect do, both now and hereafter, see the pains of the Reprobate, as Isaiah saith in his last chapter [lxvi. 24]; they see it, I say, in God or in the everlasting mirror, since it tendeth to fill up the measure of their glory.

"The pains of the Reprobate will in like manner be intensified after the Judgment, and will be so intensified that they will not be suffered to contemplate the glory of the Blessed nor to beseech their aid, as Dives besought it; for they will not be able so to bear the greatness of their torments as to be able to attend to other things; nay, rather they will be utterly swallowed up in their pains. Therefore we must grant the reasons which make for their mutual recognition."

This is a full translation of St. Bonaventura's conclusion, from the first word to the last. He then goes on, in accordance with scholastic method, to answer objections. The sight of pain usually pains us; but not in this case, since the blessed rejoice not in the fact of infliction, but in its being "just, and inflicted excellently and worthily." Again, "As to the objection, that compassion is essential to goodness of nature, we must say that this is not universally true; it is true only of natures that are passible."

Similarly writes Richard of Middleton, another Franciscan, and one of the greatest of mediæval commentators on the *Sentences;* he is reckoned as a master of the more famous Duns Scotus. He was teaching in Paris from 1283 onwards, and was referred to, at the Œcumenical Council of Basel, as *Doctor Profundus.* Richard deals with the question in his *Comment. Sup. IV. Lib. Sent.* Bk. IV. dist. l. art. 3, quaest. 3. (Ed. Brescia, 1591. Vol. IV. p. 703). To him, the quotation from the Psalm seems quite conclusive: "*The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge;* but they could not *rejoice* thereat unless they *saw* it." And he concludes: "The Blessed see the pains of the Damned far more perfectly than the Damned know the glory of the Blessed; for the Blessed see the pains of the Damned in [God's] word, and also clearly, in its proper nature, with their own eyes, so that such vision makes for a certain accidental glory for them, for they are delighted with the sight of God's justice; and, contemplating the others' pain in comparison with their own glory, they give the more abundant thanks to God. Nor will they pity them, either with that pity which is a passion, (for such pity doth not lack a certain pain), nor even with that pity which is an impulse to choice, (such pity as that whereby one wishes another to be liberated from misery). For the Blessed desire nothing contrary to that which they see to be God's absolute will; but they see it to be God's unhesitating will [*simpliciter velle*] that the Damned should remain for ever in their pain." Richard in fact, devotes ten folio pages to the pains of the Damned; he and Bonaventura and Aquinas contrast here with the far greater brevity and simplicity of Calvin, when he comes to treat of this subject.[10]

Later mediæval writers are often less explicit here than St. Thomas and St. Bonaventura; partly, perhaps, because they felt the question to be too definitely settled to need many words.[11] Peter Lombard's *Sentences,* during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, were more studied in the theological faculties of the Universities than the Bible; Dominicans and Franciscans, often differing on other points, agreed not only in accepting Peter Lombard's verdict, but in rather emphasising it. There was, therefore, as a rule, no need to emphasise further; and St. Antonino of Florence was able to put the doctrine in its mildest form: "Whereas the Saints are said to rejoice in the pains of the Damned, we are not to understand that they rejoice in their misery, but in the fulfilment of God's justice, and in their own escape from a like punishment."[12]

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[10] It is entirely characteristic of Mr. Belloc that he should imagine Calvin to be a special sinner here, and that he should in one of his attacks on the Reformation send his readers to the *Institutes* with a reference so crudely incorrect, and so doubtful to any scholarly mind on the very face of it, that he must have been writing quite at random. (*How the Reformation Happened,* p. 128.) But he knows his own public; and that volume ends with an explanatory note: "The bulk of this book appeared in the pages of *The Universe,*" the widest-read Romanist weekly.

[11] See Calvin and Nicholas de Lyra in Appendix V.

Yet, to revivalist preachers, it was natural to reinforce this doctrine with even more than the emphasis of the most inexorable Schoolman. St. Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444), in one of his great Lententide sermons (No. XII.) devoted his whole time to this question of the eternity of punishment.[13] We may begin with his own summary of its contents. "Mortal guilt is a thing of infinite wickedness, as is proved by three reasons. The permanence of guilt and of punishment in the Damned. It would be inconsistent with God's character that the Damned should not be punished eternally. Even as man's obligation to God is infinite, so, while he sins, he ought to be tormented to all eternity. The Damned ought to be eternally tormented by reason of the infinite favours God hath bestowed on them. By reason of the infinite contumely heaped upon God, the sinner ought to be eternally tormented. It is in accordance with the infinity of God's magnificence that the sinner should have an eternity of torment. Even as the righteous ought, by God's mercy, to receive from Him an eternal reward, so also ought the unrighteous, by His justice, to be tortured everlastingly. Even as man is inclined by nature to everlasting good, so, when he sinneth, he is tortured to all eternity. The Universe indicates the eternity of the pains wherewith the Damned are tormented. Concerning the profit which results to the Elect from the eternal torture of the Damned. Concerning the joyfulness *(jucunditate)* which the Blessed have from the tortures of the Damned." It will be worth while to quote what he has to say in this last section, in full.

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[12] Antonini *Chronicon*, Vol. I., p. 251. (Lyons, 1586.)

[13] *Opera*, ed. Venice, 1745. Vol. II., p. 73.

"Fourthly, the Damned ought to be tortured to all eternity by reason of joyfulness. For all excellent philosophers are agreed upon this point, that the First Cause intends nothing, and works nothing, for any other cause than Itself only, and freely [*gratis*]; wherefore it is written in Proverbs (xvi. 4), 'The Lord hath made all things for Himself.' But, in that He is sometimes said to intend His own glory and praise, it is not that He intends it as a reward of work or as gain coming from His intention and working, but a thing proper and fitting and due in itself. But, in the damnation of the Reprobate, God's glory is all the greater in proportion to their multitude and greatness. Similarly, all the greater is the beauty of His justice in proportion as their vices and sins are more evident; and, added to those sins, the most obdurate contumacy which nothing can soften. Nor would God's praise and glory, which is nothing else than His lofty and clear and widespread fame, be complete, if He had not perpetual praise and glory for His justice, even as for His goodness and mercy. Therefore, at last the works of His glory will be fulfilled, even as those of His mercy also; therefore His praise and glory whereof we have spoken shall be fulfilled in both [Blessed and Damned]. And, even as continual praise of thanksgiving shall everlastingly resound His mercy in those that are saved, even so shall wailing and lamentation, sighs and bellowings and cries resound His justice in the Damned; therefore, to the ears of the Blessed, Hell shall sing to Paradise with ineffable sweetness. Nor would there be in that place a pleasant and completely perfect sweetness of musical song, if this infernal descant from God's justice were lacking to the chant of His mercy: as it is written in Psalm [101]: 'I will sing of mercy and judgment.' Nor is any solemnity altogether complete which hath chant alone, without organ or descant. Therefore, together with the saints of the realms above, 'let us sing unto the Lord in glory, for He hath cast the horse and his rider' to wit, the wicked and the devils, 'into the sea' of the torments of hell:[14] that is, the wicked and the devils, for that reason that the Lord is just in all His ways and holy in all His works; for He is three in one, just and loving and great and glorious, and to be blessed in all His works and to be praised to all eternity." For, as St. Bernardino has argued a little higher up, "even as pure and true felicity does truly exist in the universe, so also the universe must necessarily contain pure and real misery. . . . . Even as God's just rewards or remunerations are perpetual in those who have deserved well, so also His equally just revenge and penalties must needs be everlasting."

Mr. Barrett, who speaks from a twenty years' experience within the Jesuit Order, assures us that it is still influenced, if only indirectly, by St. Ignatius Loyola's insistence upon meditation on Hell, and that "one of the worst features in the Jesuit noviceship training is the emphasis on the fear motive." (See Appendix VI.)

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[14] Exod. xv. 1, 21; modified by St. Bernardino to suit his purpose.

CHAPTER V.

LITERALISM AND UNIVERSALISM.

To follow this question further with full understanding, we must attempt to realise how the Middle Ages pictured this hell to which they condemned the sinner.

Many of the writers who, in the past and the present generation, enlist our sympathy against "Calvinistic" horrors, seem quite ignorant of the pre-Calvinistic doctrine. Those few pages which Calvin devotes to hell in his *Institutes* are very temperate compared with such a catena as might easily be compiled from orthodox writers and preachers in the Middle Ages. St. Thomas Aquinas is nearly always conspicuous among the Schoolmen for moderation and balance; yet he not only devotes far more space to the subject, but is distinctly more insistent upon the nature of the tortures. To realise what was taught, not to students in the schools but to the faithful at large, we must go to the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg. This Franciscan, the greatest mission-preacher of the thirteenth century, and perhaps of the whole Middle Ages, may be used as evidence with no other discount than the fact that, after all, he was a revivalist preacher. He was more learned than most of his class; and he earned not only from other contemporaries, but even from Roger Bacon, a commendation which cannot be explained away by the fact that both were Franciscans. Bacon, speaking of the pedantry and childish affectation and shallowness of most prelates' sermons (for the parish clergy seldom preached at all at that time, about 1270), continues: "But, though the mass of preachers proceed thus, yet some pursue a different method and do infinite good; for instance, Brother Berthold of Germany, who alone makes more splendid profit in preaching than almost all the other friars, whether Franciscan or Dominican."[1]

Berthold comes often to this subject, here and there with very special emphasis. He is particularly concerned to dispel the illusions of those who would minimise hell-fire. " Many men say that to many souls hell is tempered; and, though it so be that the man must dwell therein, yet it may be so well that God maketh him a mansion in hell that troubleth him not. That is a lie and a heresy." " Some men say: 'he who is grown accustomed to hell is as happy there as elsewhere.' That is a great lie; for no man can accustom himself to hell. Master Cain was the first that ever went to hell; the torture and the fire pain him to-day as on the first day of all; and, if any man could accustom himself to hell, Cain must be so accustomed, for he hath been there a good five and seventy hundred years.[2] Then some also say (and I have even heard it from learned folk) that our Lord giveth to some souls a mansion or a condition in hell, so that they feel naught of any pain. That is a lie and a heresy; men should preach from Holy Scripture, and not bring folk into unbelief. The man who hath least misery in hell is in such pain as no tongue could tell; and yet one man is better there than another. But the best man in hell hath such comfort as I will tell you; it is as though the whole world were ablaze, even to the firmament on high, and as though he were in the midst of that fire—all in the midst, in his shirt or stark naked,—so is it with the man that hath most comfort in hell. But another man may have it tenfold worse, or an hundredfold, or thirtyfold, or sixtyfold, or a thousandfold or sixty thousandfold worse; for, the more his sins, the more manifold his torments, and the deeper his place in hell and the hotter his fire and the more cruel his pains." Moreover, imagine Eternity. "When thou hast burned for as long and as many thousand years as there are drops in the sea, then are thy torments only at their beginning; and when thou hast burned as long and as many thousand years as there are motes in the sun, that again is but the outset of thy torments. Nay, I say more; when thou hast burned for as many years as all the hairs that have ever grown on man and beasts and cattle since Adam's days at the creation of the world, then thy torments are but beginning, nor shall they ever end from everlasting to everlasting." "And Saint Augustine hath a fair comparison, that the fire wherein these souls burn is as much hotter above all earthly fire, as our earthly fire is hotter than painted fire." "If this town were on fire, burning altogether like one house; if thine hat and thine hair, eyes and mouth and head and body from top to toe, legs and flesh, and all thy limbs and veins—if all these were one transparent fire, even as glowing molten iron, that were as naught in comparison with the fire of hell. I say yet more; if this whole world were one fire, from earth to heaven, and a man were in the midst of that fire, he would be in better comfort, yea, an hundredfold better, than one who is in hell."[3] Moreover, the enormous majority of mankind must go to hell. Berthold quotes in proof, "the words of a certain saint, who saw many hundred thousand souls go to hell, and none but three, in that same time, to heaven."[4] For all unbaptised go to hell, even the best pagan that ever lived, and such infants of even the most believing Christian parents as die before baptism. The former, it is true, have the least torments of all in hell; yet even those least are of indescribable pain. The latter suffer no physical pain, yet their longing for the sight of God, which must remain unfulfilled for ever, is a pain in itself unimaginable. "Other tortures have they none; they neither freeze nor hunger nor thirst, nor any other pain; they are neither too small nor too great, neither too hot nor too cold; and, however small their pain and torment be, yet they would gladly, in exchange for the loss of never seeing God's face, climb up and down a red-hot pillar reaching from earth to heaven. I say more; even though that pillar should reach from the lowest pit of hell to heaven, and were stuck full of scythe-blades and knives, they would gladly suffer that torture until the Day of Judgment, on condition that they should then see God's face for evermore."[5]

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[1] *Opus Tertium,* concluding sentence (*Opp. Inedd.* R.S. p. 310).

[2] The philosopher William of Auvergne deals with similar objections. (*De Universo,* pars. II. c. 30; *Opp.* Vol. I. p. 735). Will not hell-fire finally destroy men's bodies altogether? No; they will remain unconsumed by a similar miracle to Nebuchadnezzar's furnace. If it be objected that this furnace was not comparable in temperature to hell-fire, we answer that it is easy for God to render the bodies of the damned incomparably more indestructible. Shall not God find means for an end so necessary to the execution of His justice? " What great or famous king ever lacked penal instruments for the execution of his just revenge upon evil-doers? How much less, then, shall the King of All lack such means?"

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[3] *Predigten,* ed. F. Pfeiffer, Vol. I. pp. 72, 82, 126, 203, 386; Vol. II. pp. 227—8.

[4] *Ibid.* I. 382.

This, let us again remember, is a mission-preacher; yet, the things which startle a modern reader amount in the main to little more than this, that the preacher took the philosophy and theology of his day quite seriously. All Schoolmen were certain that the unbaptised went to hell, even though they sometimes introduced refinements which were not always easy for the non-scholastic to follow. St. Thomas, for instance, though he is bold enough to contradict Augustine's belief that unbaptised infants suffer physical torments, yet confesses that the loss of the sight of God is a greater loss than any physical pain. But, he argues, and most of the Schoolmen after him, the child's soul knows that in God's justice it has no right to see His face, and is, therefore, resigned and not unhappy. That reservation did not sink into the ordinary mind; Dante's hell of the unbaptised is thick with sighs and groans; and the commentary ascribed to Boccaccio emphasises this.

[5] *Predigten,* I. 126.

If, again, we ask why St. Thomas is sure of the disproportionate number of Reprobates as compared with the Elect, we may see not only that it follows naturally from the premises from which his orthodoxy compelled him to start, but also that it is brought out in detail (to quote a single witness) by one of the most trustworthy of his contemporaries. Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was perhaps the greatest English prelate of the century, and certainly one of the greatest in Europe for his own day, if we take equal account of intellect and character. In his memorial read before the Pope and Cardinals at the Œcumenical Council of Lyons in 1245, he pictured the world as it appeared to him.[6] He complained how, whereas Christ had sent forth to bid all men to His feast of heaven, yet " alas, alas ! this great spreading forth, at which men laboured so sore, is now as it were narrowed into the scanty space of one small corner. For the greatest part of the world has been settled in unbelief and separated from Christ, while, of that portion which bears the Christian name, a great part has been severed from Christ by the [Greek] schism. Of the remaining portion—which, as I think, is very small and scarce in comparison with the aforesaid two parties [of Pagans and Greeks], no small part hath been cut off from Christ by heresy; while, of the remnant, almost the whole hath been incorporated with the Devil and separated from Christ by the seven mortal sins. Therefore hath Christ lamented for a long while now past, saying : ' Woe is me ! for I am become as one that gleaneth in autumn the grapes of the vintage; there is no cluster to eat; my soul desired the precious grapes; the holy man is perished out of the earth, and there is none upright among men.'[7] And it is easy to find the cause of this narrowing and shrinkage of the Church, which we must so inconsolably mourn, and of the consequent postponement of the fulfilment of the Kingdom of Heaven;[8] for that cause, as I have already said, is the lack of good pastors and the multiplication of evil pastors, and the narrowing of the pastoral power. For one thing hath one cause, and its opposite hath opposite causes; wherefore, seeing that such good pastors as I have described above [in the Early Church], and the multiplication of the good, and the freedom of pastoral power, were the cause of the aforesaid spreading of the Christian faith and religion throughout the world, it must needs follow that the cause of the narrowing and shrinkage of the said Christian religion is to be found in evil pastors, and their multiplication, and the repression of the pastoral power." This *repression,* explains Grosseteste on the next page, in language of vehement audacity, is due to the Pope and his Court, which by its system of dispensations, and of promotions by bribery, unnerves the good priest's arm and fills the most influential offices with ignorant or immoral clerics, of the kind described in Isaiah lvi. 11, and Jeremiah vi. 13; viii. 10. It would be folly, in thinking of the Middle Ages, to forget such books as Dante's *Paradiso* and the *Imitatio Christi;* yet it is equally false to ignore this other side of the mediæval mind, which may be found everywhere under the surface, and crops up sometimes so plainly that we may wonder why it is so often blinked.

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[6] E. Brown, *Fasciculus*. London, 1690. p. 251. Brown mistakenly post-dates the document by five years.

[7] Micah vii. 1, 2. Slightly misquoted from memory.

Calvin's eschatology, then, is less lurid than that of his mediæval predecessors. Even in his insistence upon predestination to evil, he differs far less from St. Thomas than is commonly supposed. A Benedictine student, nearly twenty years ago, insisted in my conversation class on the difference; I asked him whether he had studied St. Thomas's actual text, or one of those summaries which are ordinarily used in Romanist seminaries. As I expected, he knew only the latter;

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[8] Yet in Dante's imagination, it needed only the addition of a few more souls to heaven, and this would finally complete the numbers of the Elect. (*Parad.* xxx. 131.)

and he did not conceal his surprise when I brought him the original to see.

St. Thomas, then, worked from certain premises dictated to him by tradition; premises from which no orthodox thinker could escape in that age. If, therefore, it is essential to a philosopher's greatness, first and foremost, that he should be orthodox, then we may look upon St. Thomas as almost beyond criticism. But most modern thinkers, at any rate, would judge that a philosopher's premises are more important than his method; and, from that point of view, we may feel that St. Thomas and his Church, by refusing all serious reconsideration of certain important premises, involved themselves in difficulties so serious that we need not wonder at the friction gradually generated in Europe, nor at that revolt which finally broke out in the sixteenth century.

For it is not as though St. Thomas had lived beyond the reach of any suggestion of a milder eschatology. He probably knew all those Bible texts upon which later Universalists have rested their contention that no man will be finally and irredeemably left in Hell.[9] Certainly, at least, he might have known them if he had devoted himself to a full search. But St. Thomas, like Berthold, when he appealed to the Bible, spoke less from independent and dispassionate study of the text than from what he knew the Church to have taught. Again, if he had set his fellow friars to translate not merely a few volumes from Aristotle but the works of the Greek Fathers also, he would have discovered that Universalism had a very distinguished ancestry.[10] Clement of Alexandria held that man's spiritual progress continued after death; Origen ex-tended this conception of the final universality of salvation even to the fallen angels and the devils; and, when his doctrines were condemned three centuries after his death, it was not on account of his liberal views for merely human salvation, but for his extension of this hope to the very devils in hell. Gregory of Nyssa and Theodore of Mopsuestia were also Universalists, though the latter was in general opposed to Origen.[11] Moreover, St. Thomas might have found suggestions from a writer much nearer at hand, and one who stands by his side among the greatest in the Middle Ages; namely, John the Scot (fl. 870 A.D.).[12] It is true that John, in a more occasional writing, " does in some places seem to affirm something like a relique of the doctrine of eternal damnation." But in his *De Divisione Naturae* " the representative book of the philosopher's life . . . . . the declaration that eternal torment is totally incompatible with the truth that the whole world is set free by the Incarnation of the Divine Word, is made in distinct terms and closely interwoven with the fabric of John Scotus's reasoning." And " when a man makes use of conventional language, and also of expressions entirely opposed to it and strikingly original, we cannot hesitate as to which is the genuine utterance of his own opinion."[13] But men like John the Scot were either no longer read publicly in the thirteenth century, or were read only to be condemned; and we can hardly altogether acquit the hierarchy and the reigning scholastics of a certain amount of servile fear in this direction. The Roman Church had its reasons to fear the Greek. For it knew that there was an inconvenient amount of truth in the Greek protest against the *Filioque* clause; and Nicholas I., in his suspicions against John the Scot, was probably, to some extent at least, under the dominion of anti-Greek feeling bred by the political quarrel between the two Churches.[14] But Aquinas had scholarly contemporaries who saw, as clearly as any modern can see, the defects of a theological system built up in ignorance of the great Greek Fathers. Roger Bacon made himself the mouthpiece for these criticisms. He pointed out to the Pope that no philosophy could be complete which so utterly ignored the mathematical and physical sciences, and which took so little pains to get at the real meaning of the Hebrew and Greek documents upon which it claimed to found itself. " We Latins," he writes, " lack innumerable books of the Hebrew and Greek expositors (for instance, of Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Damascene, Dionysius, Chrysostom and other most noble doctors, both in Hebrew and in Greek). Therefore, the Church sleepeth, seeing that she doth nothing in this field, nor hath she done anything in the last 70 years, except that the lord Robert [Grosseteste] of blessed memory, Bishop of Lincoln, did translate into Latin somewhat of the books of the blessed Dionysius and Damascene and a few consecrated doctors. This negligence of the Church is marvellous; for, since the days of Pope Damasus [384 A.D.] there hath been no pope, nor any lower bishop, who hath been solicitous for helping the Church through translations, save only the aforesaid glorious bishop [Grosseteste]."[15]

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[9] John vi. 37, 39; xii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 22; 2 Cor. v. 19; Eph. i. 10; 1 Tim. ii. 3—5; Tit. ii. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 9; 1 John ii. 2; Rev. xx. 14; cf. Acts iii. 21; Rom. v. 18; Heb. ii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 24—28.

[10] We shall see presently that Roger Bacon, St. Thomas's older contemporary, knew very well what Latin theology lost by its neglect of the Greek Fathers.

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[11] Quotations may be found in Hastings, *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics,* Vol. XII. p. 531.

[12] For whom see Alice Gardner, *John the Scot,* or Dr. R. L. Poole, *Ill. of Med. Thought and Learning* (S.P.C.K.).

[13] R. L. Poole, *l.c.* p. 62.

Again, Bacon insists upon the abuse of Peter Lombard's *Sentences,* the book from which Aquinas draws so many of his arguments, even when he expands or modifies them, and upon which he takes his stand in this eschatological field which we are now considering.

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[14] R. L. Poole, *l.c.* p. 50.

[15] *Compend. Stud. Phil.* c. viii. (*Opp. Inedd.* R.S. p. 474). The treatise was written in 1271, three years before the death of Aquinas. See Bacon's similar complaints of ignorance of Greek on pp. 92, 435, 464—6.

Bacon is enumerating the "sins" of university study in his day. He writes (p. 328): "The fourth sin is this: that one book of *Sentences* by a [Paris] master is preferred to the Text of the Faculty of Theology [i.e. to the Bible]. . . . And, when any man has lectured on these *Sentences,* he presumes himself now to be a Doctor of Divinity, although they [his class] may not hear the thirtieth part of his [Bible] Text. And, at Paris, the bachelor who lectures on the Bible ranks below him who lectures on the *Sentences* and who is honoured everywhere and in all matters and is put first." The *Sentence* man (he goes on) has first choice of lecture-hours, and the Bible-man must go begging for an hour; and this is so at other universities also. Yet, in other faculties, the stress is laid not upon any such compendium as the *Sentences,* but upon the original text, even though the text of the *Corpus Juris,* whether Civil or Canon Law, is far longer than the Bible and, therefore, takes far more time to expound. Again, great teachers of the past, like Grosseteste, founded themselves not on the *Sentences* but on the Bible. "And it is strange that the *Sentences* have been so exalted; for the *Bible History* [of Petrus Comestor] is more proper to Theology. For this book does follow the Bible text from beginning to end, and expounds it; whereas the *Sentences* do not stick to the text, but wander outside in their enquiries. . . . Again, this abuse of the *Sentences* renders impossible the knowledge of God's own Text. For those questions which ought to be sought in the text (as in every faculty) for the expounding of the Text, are here, [in the *Sentences*] torn apart from the text. And a man is called idly inquisitive [or eccentric, *curiosus*], if he tries to discuss questions on the Text, even though they be necessary and proper to Theology; nor would he get an audience, unless he were a man of great authority." In all other faculties, men drink pure water straight from the fount; "but, since this is not so in theology, therefore the study is impeded beyond all description, as anyone may see who considers it with fair attention"—*accidit infinitum impedimentum studii, ut patet diligentius consideranti.*

If Bacon saw this so clearly, may we not fairly ask whether St. Thomas might not have seen it also? Might not his terrible conclusion, however orthodox and unavoidable so long as he based himself on Peter Lombard's *Sentences,* have thrown him back upon an earnest reconsideration of the actual Bible text?

CHAPTER VI.

HUMANITARIAN HERESIES.

QUITE apart from these great theologians whose views might have been taken into serious consideration by St. Thomas and his Church, there was a whole body of humanitarian feeling of which we have indications quite early in the thirteenth century. How far it was started or encouraged by clerics and professional theologians we shall perhaps never know. But, even if we suppose that these people were all untutored lay folk, we may still fairly ask whether it would not have been wiser if prelates and philosophers had paid serious attention to that which serious lay folk thought. What, after all, has brought the modern world so far away from Berthold of Regensburg that no preacher of any Christian denomination would dare to read his words from the pulpit, and to make them his own? Has any Church Council decreed modifications in mediæval eschatology, or has even any bishop of the Roman Church? Is not the whole process, less complete in that Church than in most others, due almost entirely to the march of civilisation, and to the natural shame which prevents a man of the twentieth century from adopting this thirteenth-century belief?

However, be that as it may, we see plainly from Berthold himself that untheological humanitarians made serious reservations in his day (about 1250 A.D.), and a still greater man than Berthold gives us still clearer information from an earlier date. William of Auvergne was Bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249, and his philosophical books were pretty certainly written before he became immersed in episcopal work. He was specially concerned to combat certain forms of unorthodoxy which were current even in the University of Paris, incomparably greatest among all theological schools of the Latin Church. He wrote :[1] " But since, (whether by reason of the diversity of these laws or sects, or through Mahomet's words), some have fallen into such error as to think that every man is saved in his own faith or law or sect, (provided only that he believe it to be good, and [derived] from God, and that God is pleased with what such a man doth, so long as that he doeth it for God's sake), therefore, in this place, we must strive to destroy this pernicious and pestilent error. Now, here is the one cause of this error, which troubles and confounds many men; to wit, the enormous multitude [*multitudo numerosissima*] of those that shall be damned, and the fewness of those that shall be saved. 'Wherefore,' (say they), 'hath God's mercy chosen so few for salvation, while He hath left so many to perdition? especially since He may be believed to be rather inclined to save than to condemn; or, at least since His mercy to pity and pardon is no less than His justice to judge and punish. For it may seem presumptuous that a few Christians should think themselves alone to be destined to salvation, while all the remaining multitude of mankind is left to perdition —to wit, the multitude of evil Christians, who are far more numerous than the good, and all those Jews and Saracens and pagans or idolaters. How [they ask], will God's house in heaven be filled by this so small number of elect, while hell, (though it be far smaller [than heaven]) is sufficient to contain the whole multitude of the damned, together with all the devils?[2] Does it seem proper for the King of Kings and Lord of the worlds to keep more prisoners manacled in prison, and more corpses hanging on the gallows, or stretched on the rack, than He has servants and [faithful] subjects? Can God's mercy (since it can neither be numbered nor measured) suffer such shambles of torments [*tantam carnificinam tormentorum*]? Wherefore (say they) did God create such a multitude of damned? did He create them for perdition and death? Doth it agree with the riches of His goodness and the immensity of His mercy to have created these souls which He might in some way have saved, and to leave them as food for the fires of hell? On the other hand, what will become of those who do in all their actions act for His sake, thinking themselves to do Him service in those things which they do ill indeed, yet in ignorance? and more especially of those who for God's sake, or on God's account, bear all kinds of tortures not only patiently, but even joyfully? as we have heard of many heretics, and as we ourselves also might see; for they undergo fire and other torments willingly —nay, gladly—pleading, after all, that they suffer all this for God's sake; and, as we believe, they thus think in their hearts.'" The main arguments with which William tries to meet this need not detain us here. Such men, he thinks, cannot have taken sufficient care to find the right way: this, then, is "a culpable negligence, and most worthy of damnation." For the excuse of "invincible ignorance," so freely used in modern Roman apologetics, he, like his contemporaries, finds disappointingly little room; we shall see this later on. With regard to the disproportion between Blessed and Reprobate, this seems to him perfectly natural. "As to the fact that so many are damned and so few saved, you may find a close analogy both in nature and in morals. For the multitude of vile and ignoble things is always greater than of precious and noble things; iron and lead are far commoner than gold and silver, and ignoble pebbles than precious stones, and oaks, than cedars or palms; so, likewise, are fools far more numerous than wise men, and wicked than good. Moreover, among all this mass of mankind, we see how few become kings or princes, and this even in the matter of such small and ignoble realms as all are upon this earth. Therefore, how much less room hast thou to wonder if those splendid realms of heaven, noblest of all, are given to few? Again, since thou seest how few are those who seek or care for the Kingdom of Heaven, and how many turn aside from it and follow in the contrary direction, why dost thou wonder that so few should reach it, and so many fail? Or, again, if thou shouldst see ninety-nine parts out of a hundred in the human race running with all their zeal and all their might upon the way that leadeth to death, and few, on the other hand, running on the way that leadeth to life, thou wouldst not marvel if all that great multitude came to death, and only that handful to life. So also consider how great is the multitude of Lost folk, and thou wilt see them hastening to death; on the other hand, mark the fewness of those Elect who hasten towards life. . . . 'Wherefore' (ask these men) 'doth God's goodness suffer such slaughter of men whom He hath created? Doth He delight in all this shambles of infernal torments?' We will answer that nothing outside of Himself doth delight Him essentially [*proprie*], and that He is pleased with the torments of evil men, both because such torments are good, being of His own creation, and because of the beauty of justice, which, [as displayed] therein, is worthy of inestimable admiration and praise; [a justice] which the Saints in heaven will behold with all the more delight, beyond all that they think or hear upon earth, in proportion as their love and knowledge of justice will be greater there than here; by so much the greater will they comprehend the very greatness of God's justice."

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[1] *De Legibus,* c. xxi.; *Opera,* 1674, Vol. I. p. 57.

[2] This argument, of course, reposes on the mediæval cosmogony as displayed, for instance, in Dante. Hell was inside the earth; all volcanoes were mouths of hell. Heaven, on the other hand, was in the starry spheres, which, even in the geocentric system, were conceived as far more extensive in space than this single earthly globe.

It is not likely that the majority of objectors were convinced by such reasoning. Still less would they be convinced by the biblical quotation upon which

William, like other mediæval theologians in his position, relies so strongly. The Vulgate of 1 Cor. xiv. 38 runs: "si quis autem ignorat, ignorabitur"; "But if any man know not, he shall not be known." For the objector with whom William was concerned was an ordinary well-meaning common sense person, puzzled by what Cardinal Newman confessed to be "the great crux in the Christian system as contemplated by the human mind."[3] And common sense, even if it admitted that the ignorance of those vast multitudes was in fact guilty and wilful, would yet answer at once: "*He shall not be known;* that is all I plead for. If only I could believe in a purely *negative* retribution for men whose guilt, when we have fully admitted it, is purely negative! But that is precisely what you will not suffer me to believe."

We must advisedly lay stress upon this word *common sense;* for many intimate indications tend to show that this theological difficulty was not only widely felt in the Middle Ages, but was also felt by well-meaning practical folk. There is, for instance, immense significance in that story which Joinville brought back from the Holy Land, and which he relates not only without any token of horror but with implied approval (§ 445). It was in 1251, during St. Louis's sojourn at Acre; the King sent envoys to negotiate with the Sultan of Damascus. "With the messengers who went thither, went Brother Yves the Breton, of the Order of Friars Preachers, who knew the Saracen tongue. Whilst they went from their hostel to that of the Sultan, Brother Yves saw an old woman crossing the street, and bearing in her right hand a chafing-dish of live coals, with a flask full of water in her left. Brother Yves asked of her, 'What wilt thou do therewith?' She answered that with the fire she would burn paradise, so that it should be gone for ever, and with her water she would quench hell, that hell might nevermore be. And he asked, 'Wherefore wilt thou do this?' 'Because I will not that any man do well henceforth to earn the reward of paradise, nor for fear of hell; but only to have the love of God, who is so worthy, and who can give us all good things.'"

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[3] W. Ward, *Life of J. H. N.* Vol. I. p. 246.

Behind men like Joinville, loyal sons of Holy Church who found, on reflection, more than one difficulty in her teaching, there was another class, still more numerous perhaps, which lived in more or less open revolt. Most of the heresies (and these were numerous) had more or less definite objections to the orthodox eschatology. In 1247, the following outburst is recorded in the trial of a heretic before the Inquisition: "If I could lay hold on that god who, out of a thousand men whom he had made, should save one and damn all the rest, then I would tear and rend him tooth and nail as a traitor, and would count him for a false traitor and spit in his face!"[4]

As the Middle Ages wore on, mystics concerned themselves more and more with this thorny question. Rulman Merswin, Chaucer's contemporary, a Strassburg banker who gave up the latter portion of his life to good deeds and holy contemplation, was much concerned with the problem of salvation for good Jews and Pagans, with whom he had doubtless been more than once impressed during his business career. Another contemporary, Juliana of Norwich, the anchoress of Carrow, deals also directly with this problem; she satisfies herself finally with no theological subtleties, but with reflections inspired by her robust optimism. "One time our good Lord said, 'All manner of thing shall be well': and another time he said, 'Thou shalt see thyself, that all manner of thing shall be well' . . . for, right as the blessed Trinity made all thing of naught, right so the same blessed Trinity shall make well all that is not well. And in this sight I marvelled greatly, and beheld our faith, meaning thus; Our faith is grounded in God's word, and it longeth to our

[4] Douais, *Documents*, etc., Vol. II. (1900), p. 100.

faith, that we believe that God's word shall be saved in all thing: and one point of our faith is, that many creatures shall be damned, as angels that fell out of heaven for pride, which be now fiends; and many in earth that dieth out of the faith of Holy Church; that is to say, those that be heathen: and also many that hath received Christendom and liveth unchristen life, and so dieth out of charity; all these shall be damned to hell without end, as Holy Church teacheth me to believe: and, standing all this, methought it was unpossible that all manner of thing should be well, as our Lord shewed in this time. And as to this, I had had no other answer in shewing of our Lord but this; '*That, that is unpossible to thee, is not unpossible to me; I shall save my word in all thing, and I shall make all thing well.*' And in this I was taught by the grace of God, that I should stedfastly hold me in the faith as I had before understood. And therewith, that I should stand and sadly believe, that all manner thing shall be well, as our Lord shewed in the same time; for this is the great deed that our Lord God shall do: in which deed He shall save his word in all thing; and He shall make well all that is not well. But what the deed shall be, and how it shall be done, there is no creature beneath Christ that wot it, ne shall wit it till it is done."[5]

But no writer could go further than this without falling into sheer unorthodoxy. The Church was committed to an eschatology which, put in its mildest possible form by Fr. Rickaby, a distinguished modern Jesuit, runs as follows: "What is of faith about hell is that it is everlasting, no deliverance: that the pain is twofold, the pain of loss, consisting in the loss of God and the beatific vision; and the pain of sense, which is principally the pain of fire: that the souls of all men who die unrepentant in actual sin go down straight to hell. As to who these souls are, or how many they are, we have no revelation, and consequently no certainty of faith."[6] This word *revelation,* we must note, bears here an esoteric sense. On eschatology, as on many other subjects, the Bible lends itself to very different interpretations; and those who insist upon the truth of the mediæval conception of hell must base themselves not so much upon the whole Scripture text as upon a considerable consensus of early Christian interpretation. Upon that interpretation the Roman Church still stands firm in the main, though she is less and less bold to insist upon it; compare Fr. Rickaby's last sentence with the mediæval consensus as to the proportion of damned. Still, in the main, she stands upon it. The words above quoted are a comment upon St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises,* the fifth of which runs:

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[5] *Revelations of Divine Love.* (Kegan Paul, 1920). p. 77.

"Let the preparatory prayer be as usual. The first prelude, a composition, which is here to see with the eye of the imagination the length, breadth, and depth of hell. The second, to ask for what I want; it will be here to ask for an intimate sense of the pain that the damned suffer, so that, if through my faults I become forgetful of the love of the Eternal Lord, at least the fear of pains and penalties may be an aid to me not to give way to sin. The first point will be to see with the eye of the imagination those great fires, and those souls as it were in bodies of fire. The second to hear with the ears lamentations, howlings, cries, blasphemies against Christ our Lord and against all His Saints. The third, with the sense of smell, to smell smoke, brimstone, refuse and rottenness. The fourth, to taste with the taste bitter things, as tears, sadness, and the worm of conscience. The fifth, to feel with the sense of touch how those fires do touch and burn souls." Fr. Rickaby goes on to quote with approval from *The French Life of Blessed Mother Barat* (ii. 544), where "we read of a certain girl Julie, whom she saved from perdition: 'Sa foi n'avait qu'un dogme, l'enfer; et sa conscience qu'un mobile, la crainte de l'éternité' "—*her faith had but one dogma, that of hell; and her conscience had but one mainspring, the fear of eternity.* A Roman Catholic writer in *The Contemporary Review* has brought out the radical intransigence of the Papacy on this point, in contrast with the growing deference to public opinion in countries where men read and think more than in Italy or Spain or South America.[7] " In these Isles a Catholic like Professor Mivart is patiently borne with when he proclaims that there is some kind of happiness even in hell; and the very worst that befalls him is that he is gently chidden, and his articles placed on the Index, while he is allowed to solace himself, even for this light punishment, by publicly expressing a doubt whether it was inflicted because the doctrine is heretical, or merely by reason of the unseasonable time chosen to promulgate it. On the Continent, no such compromise with the Prince of Darkness would be tolerated for a moment. A couple of years ago a humane gentleman in Northern Italy, not daring to dream of anything approaching to happiness in the dreary abode of the damned, merely declared his disbelief in the material fire of hell. But punishment followed the sin with lightninglike rapidity. He was denied absolution and communion by the priest, and had he died in that state must have had his doubts removed by the most terrible personal experience. A clergyman might, of course, be mistaken. But the matter was referred to the highest ecclesiastical court, and the Holy Inquisition, presided over by Pope Leo XIII., issued a decree confirming the priest's decision, and punishing disbelief in the *material fire* of hell by deprivation of the Sacraments. Was anything said or hinted, during the late controversy on happiness in hell, of a nature to lead English Catholics to infer the existence of any such absolute decree?" There is, perhaps, no variation so deep as this among the many which actually divide Romanists at heart, sometimes on very important subjects. No English-speaking priest would dare now to publish, as a French Barnabite friar has done, a translation of the Jesuit Drexelius's Latin treatise on Hell.[8] The book is moderate enough for its time (about 1630), but strangely crude in its modern dress. We are told to fill a large box with poppy-seed, to look upon each grain as standing for a thousand years, to count thus our thousands and thousands, and note how the box still seems full. Those who are not continually thinking of this eternity of torment are really unbelievers; if the world lives as it lives now, this is because "nobody, nowadays, believes. . . . No, nobody has any belief." Tertullian rightly said, "The thought of hell is the beginning of salvation." "Abbot Olympius was asked how he could live in his cave, considering the terrible heat to which he was daily exposed and the multitude of flies and gnats which tortured him so cruelly. He answered: 'I gladly suffer all these discomforts to avoid the torments of eternity. I suffer the gnat, because I have horror of the gnawing worm that dieth not; I suffer the sun's heat, because I fear everlasting fire.'"

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[6] *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola.* Ed. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. London. 1915. p. 42.

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[7] Sept., 1894, p. 352; for longer extracts, see my *Catholic Church,* pp. 59 ff.

It is difficult to imagine this as published in present-day England; yet in Ireland, during the childhood of persons still living, descriptions of mediæval crudity formed part of the Roman Catholic teaching. A series of books for children was published, under official sanction, by Father Furniss, a Redemptionist preacher. In Appendix VI. I give longer extracts taken from Book IX., *The Terrible Judgment;* here, a briefer specimen will suffice. It is from Book X. *The Sight of Hell,* § xxxviii.

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[8] *L'Enfer,* traduit par le Rév. Père Colombe. (Paris, Waltzer, 1903.) The references in my text are to pp. 262, 277—9, 428, 430.

THE RED HOT OVEN.

" Ps. xx. *Thou shalt make him as an oven of fire in the time of thy anger.* You are going to see again the child about which you read in *The Terrible Judgment,* that it was condemned to Hell. See! it is a pitiful sight. The little child is in this red hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out. See how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet on the floor of the oven. You can see on the face of this little child what you see on the faces of all in Hell—despair, desperate and horrible!

" The same law which is for others is also for children. If children, knowingly and willingly, break God's commandments, they also must be punished like others. This child committed very bad mortal sins, knowing well the harm of what it was doing, and knowing that Hell would be the punishment. God was very good to this child. Very likely God saw that this child would get worse and worse, and would never repent, and so it would have to be punished much more in Hell. So God, in His mercy, called it out of the world in its early childhood."

To be sure, there has been a revulsion of feeling on this point even among the Irish orthodox. These little books, which were sold by the thousands at a penny, are now almost impossible to procure; I advertised for some time in vain for a copy through my bookseller. Half a century or so ago, when they began to attract hostile criticism, they were evidently destroyed of set purpose. Yet there has been no public retractation from those "superiors" who once permitted their circulation, and it is doubtful whether, even now, any responsible priest would dare to stigmatise the above extract, or those in my Appendix, as false, or as anything worse than merely " inopportune." Certainly, in the glorious thirteenth century, no man could have condemned it even as inopportune without grievous personal risk. And these things are essential to our present enquiry;

the mentality of generations which believed implicitly in their Father Furnisses, and even of generations who could allow him to inflict such horrors upon thousands of docile children, is a mentality different from that of the ordinary modern Romanist, however orthodox he may be after his own lights. The mediæval hell is an integral factor in Church history; to ignore this when we write Church history is to incur Lord Acton's condemnation "to keep these abominations out of sight is the same offence as to describe the Revolution without the guillotine. The reader knows no more than old Caspar what it was all about."[9] It is in the light of Drexelius and Furniss that we must read Miss Petre's words concerning George Tyrrell's attitude towards this question : "There is perhaps no dogma of Catholic teaching which, as presented in the ordinary catechism or text-book, or drawn out in the old-fashioned sermon, has caused more grievous faith-trials than that of eternal punishment, or has, in fact, given a keener foretaste in this life of the anguish it promises in the next."[10]

It is natural, therefore, that, during the last four centuries, by far the largest number of those who have sought to minimise the crudities of mediæval eschatology have been Protestants.[11] While some, like the often-quoted Jonathan Edwards, have almost outdone Berthold of Regensburg, many others have taught Universalism. The salvation of unbaptised infants has been defended by at least 24 Protestants, as against 2 or 3 Romanist, writers; while at least 12 Romanists have written against those two or three.[12] A Roman priest has boasted not long since, in the public press, that his Church is one of the few Christian denominations which still believe in hell. This Easter I bought, in the official Church book repository near the Cathedral at Pisa, an Italian translation of selections from St. Thomas Aquinas by a modern Dominican.[13] This little volume of 300 pages naturally contains only a tiny fraction of the Saint's writings; yet seven pages are devoted to damnation, hell, and the joy which the Blessed derive (accidentally) from the sight of the Damned in hell (274—281).

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[9] *Letters to Mary Gladstone,* p. 141.

[10] *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell,* Vol. II. 1912. p. 113. Compare Appendix VII. to the present volume. A modern French Canadian complains : "Hell, above all, is described to us [by the priests] in the most fantastical and improbable forms." (*Canada,* p. 62.)

[11] W. R. Alger, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life.* Boston, 1880. Appendix Nos. 4515 ff.

Such, then, is a dogma to which the Roman Church committed itself, side by side with the dogma of Bible inerrancy in a very literal sense. It will presently be seen how heavily these committals have weighed upon her.

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[12] I have lost the reference, but am certain of the fact. Compare my *Death Penalty for Heresy*, p. 73.

[13] *San Tommaso d'Aquino,* by P. A. Puccetti, O.P., in the series called "Christian Pages, Ancient and Modern." The volume is published under the censorship of five ecclesiastical authorities.

CHAPTER VII.

NO SALVATION OUTSIDE THE CHURCH.

Another dogma to which the Church gradually committed herself under an exaggeration of the institutional idea, and which she interpreted with increasing strictness for several centuries, was that of exclusive salvation—*extra ecclesiam nulla salus.* Here, again, she could take her stand on the severely literal interpretation of a Bible text (Mark xvi. 16); and here, again, it may be pleaded that she could scarcely have converted the barbarian tribes wholesale except by some such clear and uncompromising dogmatic claims. But few, indeed, at the present day, even among the most orthodox Romanists, would dare to interpret that text as it was interpreted in the Middle Ages; moreover, we have seen how the mediæval mind itself began to outgrow this slavery to the letter, and how earnestly some few thinkers, at least, sought for a more humane interpretation. Yet the official Church did not lead the way to mercy, nor did her accredited philosophers and theologians. They were involved here in the great illusion of their age: " the thirteenth century believed that it had realised a state of stable equilibrium, and their extraordinary optimism led them to believe that they had arrived at a state close to perfection."[1] All dissent, therefore, must necessarily be false and sinful; no man could possibly come to heaven who died out of tune with what the Church had said, or what she was generally believed to have said. St. Thomas decides definitely, on maturest reflection, that heresy is the most grievous of all sins. (2a, 2ae quaest. x. artt. 3, 6.) Berthold has his own racier way of conveying the same idea: at the Last Day, Jews and heathen and heretics shall be thrust back into hell by the devils without form of law; only to the orthodox does God grant the privilege of judicial examination. Again, "if I had a brother, I would rather that he had slain a hundred men, than that he were in a single heresy. . . . I say again, [I would rather] that my sister had had a hundred men, and that my brother had slain all his children with his own hand."[2] Many men, (he continues), say that the heretics are unjustly burned, since their lives are apparently purer than the average,[3] and they profess "I believe in one God, I believe in the Virgin Mary," etc. This, he explains, is useless, so long as they repudiate any one point of the reigning Church's doctrines. The question between everlasting torment and everlasting bliss depends mainly on a man's belief at the moment his breath quits his body. Berthold voices not only the belief of his own age, but that which his Church still insists upon as the only possible explanation of the Bible words. The Jesuit Cardinal Perrone, was " the chief theological professor in Rome" under Pius IX.; Ward's *Life of Newman* shows how deeply, one might almost say how ludicrously, Newman respected him (Vol. I. p. 162; II. 174, 546—8). For the Roman Court, he was a liberal-minded man; on the whole, he even approved Newman's doctrine of Development. In his *Treatise of True Religion,* prop. XI., he does indeed affirm it as " the express and avowed doctrine of the Catholic Church," " that nobody should be condemned to eternal punishment for an involuntary fault." So far, so good, though it would not be possible to justify this assertion historically, except in a Pickwickian sense. But Perrone is equally sure that the Bible condemns to eternal damnation all who " do not listen to the Church, and are obstinate in their own opinion against the doctrine taught by that Church." Again, his *Popular Catechism* received official approval in 1854; here is a specimen from Chap. xv.: " D. Can those who pass from the Catholic Church to Protestantism have this [excuse of] invincible ignorance? R. The mere thought is absurd. . . . It is a contradiction and an impossibility that any Catholic should turn Protestant through honest motives; we might as well talk of committing a grievous and heinous sin from honest motives. D. Would you therefore say that no Catholic who turns Protestant can ever be saved? R. I say that it is certain, with the certainty of faith, that all Catholics who turn to Protestantism are damned, except those cases where a man repents sincerely before his death and abjures the errors he has professed. Except for such a case as this, it is an article of faith that all Catholics who become Protestants are damned irremediably for all eternity. D. Why do you say that this damnation is one of the

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[1] See Chapter II. p. 23.

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[2] *Predigten,* Vol. II. p. 22; A. Schönbach, *Studien z. altdeutscher Predigt,* 1904. p. 13. For the other passages, *ibid.* pp. 9, 12, 15, 16, 19, 79, 105, 116. Compare Lord Acton (*Letters,* ed. Figgis and Laurence, p. 130). "Pius V. declared that he was willing to spare a culprit guilty of a hundred murders rather than a single notorious heretic." On New Year's Day, 1925, a Romanist priest at Weesen, in Switzerland, preached against three of his parishioners who, during the past year, had married non-Romanists, not in Roman churches, of course, but before the registrar. The priest preached on this "deed of Judas"; and, in consequence of an action for libel, he produced the MS. of his sermon in court. One passage ran: "We were all shocked last year at the robbery and murder committed by Clemens Vernet, for which he had to atone by bodily death; but a far worse robbery and murder, in itself and in its consequences, is committed by such Catholic men and women, who by a sinful marriage deny the Catholic faith for themselves and their descendants. In the theological sense, such an apostasy from the Catholic faith is a worse sin even than a bodily murder." The whole Romanist-Conservative press of Switzerland took the priest's part, according to the *Züricher Zeitung,* which dealt with the incident in several numbers, and published the priest's own defence (June 23rd, 25th, 30th, July 1st, 6th, 10th, 1925).

[3] This is the general mediæval testimony, apart from such accusations of secret abominations as were also made by the pagans against the early Christians. For a refutation of the purely modern apology that heretics were also immoral anarchists, see Chapter III. of my *Inquisition* in Benn's Sixpenny Series.

certainties of faith? R. Because it is a plain revelation of God."

And, in his *Treatise,* Perrone fortifies his biblical evidence by quotations from the Fathers, and quotes against modern heretics, without qualification, such words as those of St. Ignatius: "ferocious beasts, in human form; . . . renounced by Christ and ignoring Christ," or St. Cyprian's: "public pests, wild beasts, robbers, brigands, assassins." Such is the teaching of a man who "was highly valued by three Popes," and whose *Theological Lectures* ran through forty-seven editions within living memory.[4]

Such, then, are the premises which led even so temperate a philosopher as Aquinas to that which most modern minds feel to be a revolting conclusion. If heresy be the deadliest sin of all, and the heretic be a soul-poisoner, then he deserves the swiftest judgment of all, and the cruellest death.[5] He may be spared and reasoned with until it becomes apparent that his attitude is "pertinacious"; up to that point, we may give even the ablest intellect the benefit of assuming that he is "invincibly ignorant." Yet that point is decided, not by any ordinary court of law, but by the Inquisition, which, by its very constitution, hears and judges in secret, admits evidence against the accused from witnesses whom other courts would reject as infamous, practically refuses him the benefit of counsel, has the right of submitting both him and all too reticent witnesses to torture, and (last, but not least), has a pecuniary profit, sometimes very great, from his condemnation. All these things follow, logically enough, from St. Thomas's premises. Not long ago, a distinguished Roman Catholic teacher lectured in Cambridge on the Inquisition. I asked him publicly before the audience: "Are you prepared to repudiate any of St. Thomas's premises? If not, which link can you break in his chain of argument? If not, on what plea can you escape from his conclusion, and how can you continue to assure Protestants that your Church, if she again had the power, would refrain from physical force?" He declined to answer my question; and, being himself both lecturer and chairman, he took that opportunity of formally closing the debate.[6]

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[4] *Death Penalty,* pp. 72—3.

[5] See full text in Appendix VIII.

For, indeed, the mediæval position is inexpugnable, so long as the mediæval premises are granted; and the Roman Church has never been moral and courageous enough to repudiate those premises. On the contrary, I believe it would be impossible to find any orthodox writer before about 1800 who makes the ordinary modern Romanist excuse for Protestants-born; that is, before the time by which it had become evident that in most parts of the world, if religious persecution were to become the general law, Romanists would suffer far more severely than their antagonists. Therefore at last, in 1917, the new codification of Canon Law abrogated the death penalty with other similar punishments. Yet, as a pope decreed this abrogation by his own authority, by that same authority he might re-enact it to-morrow if he chose. This sixth canon of the new *Codex* amounts to no more, (as I have said elsewhere), than " the promise of an octogenarian that he will not birch his son of forty."[7] Moreover, not only have the fatal premises never been revoked,[8] but they and their logical consequences have been asserted, under the Pope's nose, even since the *Codex* of 1917.

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[6] No orthodox mediæval theologian of repute has yet been quoted, I believe, who defines "invincible ignorance" in the lenient sense in which modern Romanists are obliged to define it, face to face with modern civilisation. St. Thomas knew that there were thousands who had been born in heresy and had had practically no chance of hearing both sides; yet he makes no express allowance for these. Pertinacious schism was treated as heresy; the whole Greek Church was (by Roman doctrine) in pertinacious schism, yet no express allowance was made for those millions. Ockham, in his *Dialogue,* constantly recurs to this question of invincible ignorance; yet never, I believe, in the modern apologetic sense. St. Bernardino, reproducing William of Auvergne almost word for word, defines and argues in a sense which would enable any modern priest, after a few hours' discussion, to condemn his unconverted hearer as having passed from the domain of invincible ignorance to that of pertinacious, and, therefore, unpardonable, heresy. (*Opera,* Vol. II. p. 122, translated at length in Appendix IX. of this volume. Cardinal Perrone, in the *Eleventh Proposition,* already quoted, writes: "Therefore there is no ignorance, however profound we may suppose it to be, which is invincible, or at least is permanently invincible." In other words, an orthodox Romanist has every possible excuse for assuming that the man who steadily resists conversion is no longer merely ignorant, but wilful and obstinate, and, therefore, guilty of what Perrone, like St. Thomas, counts as "the most grievous of all mortal sins."

Cardinal L. Billot was formerly professor at the great Jesuit University in Rome, the Gregorian. The fourth edition of his *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi* was published in 1921—2 by the official press of the Gregorian University, and with the usual official imprimatur. In Quaest. XIX. § 4 (Vol. II. pp. 107 ff) he deals with this question. The Church is not only permitted by God to use force, but He definitely prescribes this to her. Augustine was at first against coercion; but experience taught him better; he was right in applying to Nonconformists that text of the gospel parable, " Compel them to come in." There are no thoroughly efficacious remedies but " the laws which reigned in the Middle Ages against heretics and their abettors." Billot is at a loss to see what can reasonably be pleaded on the contrary side. " Therefore we must say that material force is rightly employed to protect religion, to coerce those who disturb it, and, generally speaking, to remove those things which impede our spiritual aim;

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[7] *The Death Penalty for Heresy*, p. 37. This same monograph supplies vouchers for the other statements in this paragraph.

[8] It would be very difficult to revoke the statement of principle, since Leo X's bull *Exsurge* and Pius IX's *Syllabus* are sometimes accounted as *ex cathedra* utterances. The former condemns the proposition "It is against the will of the Holy Ghost that heretics should be burned"; and the latter condemns " The Church has no right to employ force." For this latter, see L. Choupin, *Valeur des Décisions*, etc. (Paris, 1907). pp. 214 ff.

nay, that force can have no more noble use than this." And shortly before this, in 1910, another more definite pronouncement was made. Fr. A. Lépicier was Professor at the College of the Propaganda, and, therefore, his words had something of the authority of that august congregation.[9] He published a book, *De Stabilitate et Progressu Dogmatis,* concerning which Pius X. prote publicly to the author that it had raised him in the papal estimation. Fr. Lépicier there writes: " I am aware that there are many who think that the Church has no right to sanction the death penalty, whether for heresy or for any other crime. But their decision cannot be called probable, since it does not appear plainly how this negation is compatible with the constitution of the Church or with historical facts." And he clinches this argument with just such an appeal to history as a Protestant might make in support of the very opposite conclusion. History (writes Lépicier) puts it beyond doubt that the Church *has* killed men, and on principle; therefore we must either condemn her as having formerly erred in the domain of morals, or allow her in future to kill again whenever her Infallibility may judge fit to do so. It would be difficult to show more clearly the shifts to which Modern Romanism is reduced, with their consequent temptations to falsehood, by her fatal inheritance from the Middle Ages.

If, then, mediæval theology is so near to perfection that any serious deviation from it may safely be assumed to be a damnable error; if, again, such error is as infectious as any plague, so that a single scabby sheep may cause the death of thousands; if it be among the first of Christian duties to remove these Nonconformists from the world—a duty all the more imperative in proportion as the Nonconformist himself is convinced of his own loyalty to Christ—then the Church, in spite of her nominal insistence upon sincere examination, can no more permit it in fact than my Lord Peter permits it in *The Tale of a Tub.* In theory, the Nonconformist must not only pray to God in his own soul, but look dispassionately at all the evidence; but in practice his prayers and his self-examination, unless they result in conversion, must be reckoned as an empty mockery which only aggravates his guilt. All the papal decrees, genuine or forged, which had been incorporated in Canon Law were treated as inspired, if not in the strictest sense, at least to all practical intents and purposes. As early as 970 A.D., Bishop Ratherius of Verona wrote: " Seest thou not that whatsoever is written in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms, in the gospels and acts and preachings of the apostles, *in the decretals of the Popes* and the canonical institutions, is inspired by God? "[10] Gierke notes that, by the fourteenth century, there was a general tendency to regard the written Canon Law as *jus divinum;* and we have seen how, in 1408, Archbishop Arundel draws no distinction of guilt between disputing a Bible text or a Papal decretal. Indeed, Canon Law makes some such assertion for itself.[11] The incident of Peter and Malchus's ear is there treated with cynical disregard of its Bible context. The true meaning of the incident, (we are told), is this: that Malchus represents the man who will not listen to the Church; therefore Peter, as spiritual ruler, has judicial authority to smite off his ear; it is an instance of his power of binding and loosing; for, if the sinner repent, then Christ will heal the wound. After all this, we can scarcely find Swift's words exaggerated: "*Look ye, Gentlemen,* cries Peter in a Rage, *to convince you, what a couple of blind, positive, ignorant, wilful Puppies you are, I will use but this plain Argument; By G . . . , it is true, good, natural Mutton as any in Leadenhall Market; and G . . . , confound you both eternally, if you offer to believe otherwise!*" Yet those who bear in mind the Gospel context may mark how Christ's rebuke to St. Peter has come home to roost: they that take the sword shall perish with the sword; the same policy which, consistently and remorselessly followed, kept Romanism in dominance for so many centuries, is now her worst stumbling-block and her eternal condemnation.

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[9] The *Congregatio Propagandae Fidei,* like the other Papal Congregations, is a committee of Cardinals. " The decisions of these Congregations, when duly authenticated, are final in any case for the individual, and must be taken as the decisions of the Pope himself." (*Catholic Dictionary,* article " Congregations, Roman.")

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[10] Poole, p. 72, n. 3.

[11] Gratian, *Decretum,* pars. II. caus. xxiv. q. 1. cap. 17. The scene is sculptured, in this sense, on the west front of Reims Cathedral; I have figured it to face p. 449 of *Art and the Reformation.*

It is now generally recognised as a mistake to look upon the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as ages of mere decadence from the glorious thirteenth. The forest trees might be departed or departing; but a vigorous undergrowth was rising all the while; both Church and world in Luther's day were, on the whole, more civilised than in the days of Francis and Dominic; here, as in nearly all other cases, revolution came not when things were at their worst, but when the world had already gained much, and was now determined to fight for more. The suppression of heresy by brute force had inspired growing mistrust and resentment not only in the Universities, but among the common folk also; more, perhaps, among them than among scholars. One cause that began to break Church tyranny down was the cause which had been fatal to the tyranny of Domitian:—

> Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Coeperat.[12]

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[12] Juvenal, IV. 153. "But he perished, when he began to excite the fears of vile mechanics." Compare the evidence of popular sympathy with the martyrs in the fourth volume of my *Life in the Middle Ages:* "How Friar Michael was burned." When John Rogers was on his way from Newgate to Smithfield, in 1554, the crowd cheered him (wrote the French Ambassador) as though he had been going to his marriage.

A Reign of Terror cannot last for ever. The Roman Church, unable to avoid conclusions which were implicit in her very premises, was equally unable to avoid the practical consequences of these theoretical conclusions. Each step in persecution committed her to further steps; intolerance is the one great vice which does not diminish, but increases in the later Middle Ages. In spite of the Renaissance, and the free speech of a few, censorship and repression still weighed like lead upon the majority; and the Roman Church, in her war against criticism, was more and more compelled to tilt the scales, to garble, and even to fall back upon patent falsehood.

I say advisedly, *the Roman Church;* for the whole Church, in the ordinary sense of that word, bears this responsibility. The word is constantly used in senses so diverse, with so little clear definition, that it may be made to mean almost anything that suits the writer's momentary purpose. For some, it means the Pope; for others, the Pope and his hierarchy; for others, the whole clerical body; for others, clergy and laity together, since all men, with negligible exceptions, were baptised into the Church. Hence, all the good things in mediæval life are sometimes claimed for the Church, since the Church (theoretically at least), was all in all. But if we use the word in this sense, we must use it consistently, and admit the responsibility of the Church, on the other hand, for all that was bad in mediæval life. This, however, is constantly avoided; we are told that for this or for that the Church herself was by no means responsible; that she was responsible only for the sayings and doings of Popes, or of Bishops in Council, or of the whole clergy; nor, even in those cases, unless the men were acting in public and official capacity. Lord Acton, the most learned of all English-speaking Romanist historians, has condemned by implication this juggling with terms: "There is much to deduct from the praise of the Church in protecting marriage, abolishing slavery and human sacrifice, preventing war, and helping the poor. No deduction can be made from her evil-doing towards unbelievers, heretics, savages and witches. Here her responsibility is more undivided; her initiative and achievement more complete."[13] Take slavery, for example; its gradual abolition was due to the advance of civilisation, aided by a Christian feeling which was confined to no particular denomination. Indeed, the Roman Church was here not in the van but almost in the rear. The only scholastic philosopher, I believe, who repudiates St. Thomas's decision that slavery is economically and morally justifiable, is the arch-heretic Wyclif; and serfdom continued on Church estates when it was practically extinct elsewhere. Papal Rome was one of those European cities in which slavery proper lingered longest; the African slave-trade had papal bulls for its legal basis; and, in the nineteenth century, it was the non-Romanist countries which far outstripped the Romanists in freeing the blacks. With regard to persecution, again, all denominations have succumbed to the temptation, but in none has intolerance been so officially, so completely, and so persistently organised as in the Roman Church. Of her alone it can be said, as of modern Bolshevism, that her very principles forbid toleration; she may be tolerant in practice, but only by a silent abandonment of fundamental claims. It was those claims, gradually evolved in history, but soon adopted by the Popes as fundamental, which forced the hierarchy into positions more and more impossible to defend. The burning of inconvenient persons finally failed, because it was impossible to burn inconvenient truths also. Yet against such truths a war was organised, less public and less startling than the war upon men's bodies, but not less ruthless. That which passed for Church history, before the Reformation, was loaded with a mass of falsehoods which the original inventors had not even believed themselves; and it was deprived of all opportunities for

[13] *Correspondence,* ed. Figgis and Laurence, p. 217.

free and sane criticism. The atmosphere was more or less deliberately poisoned, and the natural remedy of fresh air was most deliberately denied. Therefore, in the sixteenth century, when able and sincere Romanists found themselves face to face, at last, with able and sincere Protestants who had free access to the sources and were free to discuss those sources, the disillusion was often terrible. This has never been more frankly confessed than by the Spanish bishop, Melchior Cano, one of the greatest of the Fathers at the Council of Trent. The most learned of complete Roman Encyclopædias, Herder's *Kirchenlexikon,* calls Cano's *De Locis* (written about 1550) " an epoch-making work " (Vol. II. col. 1810). The English *Catholic Encyclopædia,* says " Cano made an imperishable name for himself in his work *De Locis Theologicis.* . . . . It certainly ranks with the most lauded productions of the Renaissance, not only on account of its fluency and freedom, but also for its lucid judgment and profound erudition. In the estimation of some critics, this work, making a new epoch in the history of theology, has made its author worthy of a place next St. Thomas Aquinas " (Vol. III. p. 252). We shall see, in the next chapter, how this earnest defender of Romanism is compelled to confess that pagan historians, by their independent pursuit of truth, have put the Christians to shame; "Many of ours are either slaves to partiality, or even deliberately invent so much that I am not only ashamed but disgusted at them." Worse still, the elaborate official censorship, which ought to afford a guarantee of truth to the public, is, in fact, too frequently a stamp of error; the accredited teachers are blind leaders of the blind.

See further a pamphlet reprinted from the *Princeton Theological Review,* by an ex-Roman Catholic priest (Protestant Press Bureau, Ilford, 3d.). The author knows Canon Law well, and supplies many valuable quotations from irrefragable documents.

CHAPTER VIII.

PIOUS FALSEHOODS.

THAT state of things had grown up quite naturally; indeed, we may almost treat it as an unavoidable consequence of mediæval orthodoxy. For the root of all this false history lay not so much in the scarcity of books and in mediæval difficulties of communication and comparison, though these were serious enough, but still more in the official attitude of mind. It was not only that the truth was difficult to find; far worse than that, on many of the most important of all historical questions, men were forbidden to disclose the discovered truth. Of any impartially exploring historian at a mediæval University it might have been said even more truly than of a modern arctic or antarctic adventurer, that he carried his life in his hand.

From the very first, Christian historians frequently showed a painful preference for edification over objective truth. As the Church grew more and more bureaucratic, pious inventions were increasingly encouraged and criticism correspondingly discouraged. Even the renaissance of learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries did little for Church history, as distinguished from mere unverified ecclesiastical legends. Abbot Guibert of Nogent, writing about 1110 A.D., complains of the impostures current in his day.[1] "A most famous Church sent its servants thus wandering abroad [with its shrine], and engaged a preacher to seek alms for repairing its loss. This man, after a long and exaggerated discourse on his relics, brought forth a little reliquary and said, in my presence, 'Know ye that there is within this little vessel some of that very bread which our Lord pressed with His own teeth: and, if ye believe not, here is this great man'—this he said of me—'here is this great man to whose renown in learning ye may bear witness, and who will rise from his place, if need be, to corroborate my words.' I confess that I blushed for shame to hear this: and, but for my reverence of those persons who seemed to be his patrons, which compelled me to act after their wishes rather than his, I should have discovered the forger. What shall I say? Not even monks (not to speak of the secular clergy) refrain from such filthy gains, but they preach doctrines of heresy in matters of our faith, even in mine own hearing. For, as Boethius saith, 'I should be rightly condemned for a madman if I should dispute with madmen.' . . . . Yet, while the clergy hold their peace, old wives and herds of base wenches chant the lying legends of such patron saints at their looms and their broidering frames; and, if a man refute their words, they will attack him in defence of these fables not only with words but even with their distaffs. . . . Moreover, there be some things written concerning certain saints which are far worse than old wives' fables, and with which we ought not to pollute the ears even of swineherds. For indeed, since many attribute the highest antiquity to their patron saints, they demand in these modern times that their lives should be written: a request which hath oftentimes been preferred to me. Yet I may be deceived even in that which passeth under mine own eyes: how then can I tell the truth of those things which no man ever saw? Were I to say what I have heard said (and I have been besought also to speak the praises of such unknown saints—nay, even to preach them to the people) then I, who say what men ask of me, and they who have suggested it to me, would be alike worthy of a public reprimand."

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[1] *De Pignoribus Sanctorum.* l. I. c. 1. I have printed the passage at far greater length in *Life in the Middle Ages,* Vol. I. pp. 15—22. This "most famous church" is almost certainly the Cathedral of Laon.

Meanwhile, deliberate forgery was rampant. No modern student is shocked to find false documents in a monastic chartulary; he rather expects one or two at least. Some of these, no doubt, are not forgeries in the strictest sense; an ancient charter has been lost, or has been destroyed through fire, and the monks have reproduced it much as Dr. Johnson produced the debates in Parliament; and, naturally enough, they also have taken care not to let the Whig dogs get the best of it. In every field, the line between imagination and fact was extraordinarily vague. Dr. Hodgkin has immortalised that early historian of the Patriarchs of Ravenna who confesses that, for some of his biographies, he found neither written nor traditional materials, but that, in these cases, he has written the unknown prelate's life " by the help of God and with the prayers of the brethren." A long history of Tournai, from Julius Caesar onwards, was produced in this way, about 1140, by a young canon to whom all the events had been revealed in a vision;[2] and it is quite common to find that saints' lives rest upon similar supernatural revelations. The greatest victory ever won by Cambridge University in a court of law was gained with the help of a barefaced forgery, which could not possibly have gained credence in any society accustomed to historical criticism. A bull was concocted professing to emanate from Honorius I. in 624, six centuries before the actual foundation of the University. The Pope there recalls the fact that he himself had studied at Cambridge, and grants the University exemption from all episcopal and archiepiscopal authority, an almost unheard-of privilege. Yet " on the strength of the Bull of 624 and other equally valuable documents, the Papal delegates, solemnly sitting in the Chapter House of Barnwell [Priory] in 1432, solemnly decided in favour of the University's entire ecclesiastical independence."[3] Even Roger Bacon, who was so critical of what passed for learning in his own day, did not concern himself with the defects of contemporary history. Indeed, he himself here shared the illusions of his age, and imagined that society had been more moral in Pagan Rome than in his own thirteenth century.

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[2] See the extract in *Life in the Middle Ages,* Vol. II. p. 14.
[3] H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe,* Vol. II. p. 550.

Two generations later, it is true, we get a real ecclesiastical historian; but this man is a heretic. Marsilius of Padua, a distinguished physician, was born about the time that Roger Bacon was writing his greatest works. He taught at Paris, and was Rector of the University in 1312-3. Ten years later, in conjunction with a fellow-student named Jean de Jandun, he wrote the *Defensor Pacis.* For more than four centuries, since Nicholas I., Popes had claimed superiority over all civil sovereigns on the plea that they were the guardians and arbiters of world peace. This was the excuse which they found for breaking the concordat of centuries past, that Pope and Emperor should each be absolute in his own sphere, and that neither should trespass upon the other's. Worldly princes (argued Nicholas) do not keep peace, yet peace is the very foundation of civilised society. Therefore, the Pope must step into the field of worldly politics in order to obtain or maintain that tranquillity which we cannot doubt to be God's will for mankind. Marsilius, accepting the Pope's major proposition (which, in fact, was borrowed from St. Augustine's *City of God*) reversed the argument, and advanced to the attack over the very bridge which Nicholas had constructed. By an appeal to history, and to the actual experience of his readers during their own lives, he claimed that the Popes had been responsible for more wars, and bitterer wars, than any other sovereign. Here he was probably exaggerating; it is difficult to assign exactly this bad pre-eminence among mediæval rulers; but, so far as his own Italy was alone concerned, the accusation was literally true. Machiavelli, a few years before our English Reformation broke out, appealed again to it as a notorious historical fact, and counted it as one of the two main causes why "those peoples who dwell nearest to the Roman Church, the head of our religion, have themselves least religion. . . This province has lost all devotion and all religion."[4] Marsilius, however, has to meet the argument that Papal rule, however disastrous from the worldly point of view, is God-given and must be accepted as a decree of Divine Providence. This, again, he refutes not only on biblical but also on historical grounds.[5] The Bishop, in the primitive Church, was simply one priest chosen from the rest for administrative purposes; so far as Holy Orders are concerned, there is no difference between Bishop and Priest. The Apostles, again, were essentially equal. If St. Peter was indeed Bishop of Rome, it was as successor to St. Paul, who was probably the real founder of the Christian community in that city. He further emphasises four facts which Romanist controversialists often conveniently blink to the present day; (1) that Christ repeated to all the Apostles in the plural, *ye,* the commission already given to Peter personally, *thou;* (Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 21—3); (2) that St. Paul evidently knew nothing of an overwhelming primacy in St. Peter (Gal. ii. 6—9); (3) that not Peter, but the Apostles in general decided the dispute about circumcision; or, if one above all the rest gave his own decision as final, it was James (Acts xv. 6—29, especially v. 19); and (4) that Peter was sent to Samaria with John as the envoy of the Apostolic body (Acts viii. 14). From all this, and from other historical facts, Marsilius concludes that the real supremacy in the Church belongs to a General Council, to be summoned and presided over, not by the Pope, but by the Emperor, as at Nicæa and all the earlier centuries when Christianity had become a State Church. The Pope's present claim to summon and preside at such Councils is a sheer usurpation; so, again, is his claim to make and administer a law of his own, the Canon Law, supreme over all Christian consciences. It is wicked that a priest should exercise coercive authority over men's bodies; we may echo the complaint of St. Hilary of Poitiers, in whose days this plague was only beginning, about 360 A.D.: "The Church terrifies men with exile and prison, and compels a belief in herself which is really only a belief in exile and in prison" *(Cont. Aux.,* 4). Again (he says), she has gradually turned her natural right of excommunicating (in the sense of excluding offenders from the sacraments or expelling them from her society) into a false claim to inflict penalties in the other world; a claim blasphemous before God and so abused in ordinary life (e.g. for the recovery of debts) as to be responsible for innumerable worldly quarrels.

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[4] *Discorsi sopra T. Livio,* lib. I. cap. 12.

[5] Dictio II. capp. XV. sq., pp. 263 ff of Dr. Previté-Orton's edition, and pp. xxi. ff of his Introduction (Cambridge University Press, 1929). This admirable edition of a hitherto almost inaccessible book ought now to be in every important public library.

Here, then, two centuries before the Reformation, is a man who sees the main thread of Church history as it is seen nowadays by at least three historians out of four, and, on some important points, as it would be admitted by most of the remaining fourth. True, the Pope hereticated him; and, half a century later, another Pope accused Wyclif of reviving the heresy of Marsilius; and, later still, Henry VIII. caused the book to be translated in the interests of his own quarrel with the Papacy. But the real significance of these facts is best seen when we look at them from the opposite angle. Unless this man had been a heretic, he could not have written the truth about early Church history in the fourteenth century. It is difficult to believe that Marsilius owed nothing to political discussions in the free civic assemblies of his native Padua, and to similar free discussions, in strict privacy, among his fellow-students at Paris. He was not advanced enough to attack the False Decretals, openly at least. In one place he seems to hint a general doubt, and in another he flatly rejects, with remarkable historical *flair,* the pseudo-Clementine epistle which is included in that collection of forgeries.[6] But it was more than a century before Renaissance scholars dared to lay their hands openly upon that sacred ark.

Marsilius's condemnation by the Pope, and his embroilment thenceforward in the political struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, hindered the dissemination of his book. For generations after his death, those men often passed for most learned who relied upon the absurdest historical fictions. The friar Thomas Netter of Walden was a D.D. of Oxford, and confessor to Henry V. and Henry VI. in succession. The former sent him as his representative to the Œcumenical Council of Pisa, and the latter to the still greater Council of Constance; in 1414 he became Minister Provincial of his Order in England. He was one of Wyclif's most formidable adversaries; his latest editor (1757) calls him *Prince of Controversialists.* One of the most glaring errors which he claims to have discovered in Wyclif is his denial of the legendary origin of the Carmelite Order; of its first foundation by Elijah on Mount Carmel; of its hostel at Jerusalem, in which "as John writeth in his *Book of the Particular Deeds of the Carmelites,*" the Virgin Mary and the Apostles took their abode during the interval between the Crucifixion and Pentecost: "the impious Wyclif saith in his madness" that these things are false. Speaking under correction, I would venture to assert that the most ignorant Romanists dare not maintain these fictions nowadays; yet, as lately as 1683, the learned Jesuits Papebroch and Janning were cited to Rome, and their labours of years were almost suppressed altogether, because they ventured to doubt the story. The Spanish Inquisition condemned their work; Rome would not openly defend it; so that

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[6] Dict. II. cap. XXVIII. p. 434: for full translation see Appendix X.

Papebroch, lying upon what he believed to be his deathbed, " after 42 years of unceasing toil at the lives of those Saints whose company I now hope to join," vainly implored from the Pope a revocation of the condemnatory decree.[7]

These things, which a few great students dared to say publicly when Renaissance and Reformation scholarship had breached the ancient ramparts in every direction, had begun to dawn upon the inner mind of similar students even before Luther's appearance. But they had not yet begun to become common property; they could scarcely be whispered even in the closet. Sir Thomas More was by far the most learned English layman of his day; his *Utopia* is a work of startling audacity and modernity; yet his historical outlook is still thoroughly mediæval. If he and Fisher had read *The Defensor* with Erasmus or Colet, and had gone into Marsilius's evidence for the early history of the Popes, there would probably have been two crimes less to Henry's account, and two saints less upon the Roman Calendar.

Only fifteen years after More's death, a no less orthodox Catholic and a far more learned theologian unburdened his conscience to the world on this subject of ecclesiastical history. His name was Melchior Cano; we have made his acquaintance for a moment already. What Cano wrote in 1550 he probably thought already in 1535, when More lay in prison awaiting his end. Ever since Luther's outbreak, Orthodoxy had been called upon to give public vouchers for many of her most time-honoured traditions, and Orthodoxy had failed to produce them. Among earnest and honest students, even the most conservative were beginning to see that men had been burnt in the past for denying things of which some, at least, had no sound historical basis. They saw, also, that some of the superstitions which gave the readiest handle to the heretic, and which good Catholics deprecated though Popes and Cardinals and priests found them pecuniarily profitable, reposed on popular fictions and had survived only through dishonest, or at least cowardly, connivance. And therefore this second St. Thomas Aquinas voiced what a good many of the best Romanists felt also : the scandal was too great to be hushed up any longer.

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[7] Fuller details and references in *Five Centuries,* Vol. II. p. 655.

In the sixth chapter of his eleventh book, Cano deals at length with the subject of ecclesiastical history in general and hagiography in particular. He insists upon the impossibility of separating theology from history, and the consequent necessity of treating ecclesiastical traditions critically, though not, of course, with hypercriticism. The current story of Trajan freed from hell by the prayers of Pope Gregory, accepted implicitly by Dante and in another sense by the author of *Piers Plowman,* he rejects as a mere fable, and regrets that it had been believed " not by the multitude only, but even by St. Thomas [Aquinas] in his youth." He knows that many cherished traditions are false; that the legend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins is absurd; that " certainly the story of St. Thomas the Apostle is an apocryphal fiction, since not only has [Pope] Gelasius said this [in a passage embodied in Canon Law] but Augustine also [in more than one passage]." He is well aware of the weakness even of the early Church historians—Philo, Sozomenus, Eusebius—" among ecclesiastics, there is not one who can be taken as a thoroughly trustworthy [*probabilis*] historian." Is there nothing trustworthy, then, in past records? Yes; but only if we make proper distinctions; some are far more trustworthy than others, but in the least trustworthy class stand " edifying " writers. Among the pagan Greeks and Romans, on the other hand, " some, impelled either by love of truth or the shamefastness of native modesty, have so abhorred lying that we ought perhaps to blush to find that certain Gentile historians have been more veracious than our own. I say it rather with grief than in contumely, that [Diogenes] Laertius wrote the Lives of the Philosophers far more strictly than Christians have written the Lives of the Saints; and that Suetonius has rehearsed the affairs of the emperors with far more impartiality and integrity than Catholics have rehearsed, I do not say the story of the emperors, but [even] of martyrs, virgins and confessors. For those ancient authors, when dealing with good emperors or philosophers, do not suppress either their faults or the suspicion of fault; again, with the wicked, they show even such colour of virtue as these had. But many of ours [*nostri plerique*] are either slaves to partiality, or even deliberately invent so much that I am not only ashamed but disgusted at them; for I am convinced that these men not only have brought no profit to Christ's people, but verily much disadvantage. I spare their names, since our judgment in this place is one of morals, and not only of erudition, wherein censure may move more freely; for, as concerns the censure of morals, we ought certainly to be more cautious in dealing with living men and more reverent in dealing with the dead. But it is certain that those who write Church history fictitiously and fallaciously cannot be good and sincere men; and that their whole story has been invented either for gain or to support error, whereof the former is base, and the latter is pernicious. There is very great justice in the complaint of Ludovicus [Vives] concerning certain histories which have been forged [*confictis*] in the Church. He indeed prudently and gravely rebukes those who have thought good to invent lies for religion's sake under the plea of piety, since that is both highly perilous and utterly unnecessary; for we are accustomed to disbelieve a liar even when he tells the truth. Wherefore, those who have attempted to excite men's minds to the worship of the Saints by false and lying writings, seem to me to have done nothing more than to destroy men's faith in the truth for the sake of this faith in falsehood; and the result is that even those things are doubted which have been published with strict accuracy by thoroughly veracious authors.

"In Christian history, which, as we have said, is considered altogether not from the point of view of pleasure but of truth, how can it be right to cloak inventions and fables under the name of history, as though God's Saints needed our lies? These are they who wrought so much truth for Christ's sake, that falsehood, however artificially composed to simulate learning, even though it were not noxious, yet at least must be useless, even as cowardly soldiers burden an army rather than they help it. Indeed, the things that our heroes actually did were, in my belief, not only ample and magnificent, but even far greater than they are reported. Again, the virtue of those who wrought these deeds is so great that our authors could not have extolled it in words. Nay, so great that even men of great talent are unequal to the facts, and words are unequal to the talent [of those who would describe them]. But, considering that some men indulge their own affections too much, and write at the dictation of the writer's own mind rather than of truth, they sometimes show the Saints to us in the light wherein the Saints themselves, even if they could have lived, yet would not have lived. For who can believe that St. Francis, when the lice had been shaken off, was wont to put them again on himself? Although the writer considered this as contributing to the Saint's holiness, I cannot think so, for I know that this most holy man always loved poverty, yet never filth. Again, how ridiculous is that other story of our father St. Dominic! That the devil once chattered against him, and that the Saint compelled him to hold the lantern in his hands until, burning to the socket, it not only incommoded the devil, but inflicted incredible pain upon him. Examples of this kind cannot be numbered, but these few may indicate many others which have clouded the stories of the most conspicuous saints. Now, it was not decent that the true accounts of these Saints should be defiled by false and fictitious fables; and this was the cause which moved Pope Gelasius (492—6) to condemn many stories of this kind in his Council of seventy bishops." Cano then enumerates many fables dear to the Middle Ages, the Passion of St. George, the Invention of the Holy Cross, "and other fables of the kind, whereof some have come to light not long since, the authors of which, and the places [where they are supposed to have happened] are so far distant from us that we cannot find whether they are lying, yet may well suspect it. But indeed the whole body of the story seems fictitious, so that we may easily find herein the truth of that common proverb among the Spaniards: *De luengas vias, luengas mentitas.*[8] But let us return to Gelasius. . . . By his testimony we will rebuke the impudence of those who have attributed St. Jerome's authority to such things as no man but an uncultured fool would publish. Of the same sort also is that foolish and barbarous book of the Nativity of St. Mary,[9] and many other things which Erasmus has most diligently and justly refuted. . . . . . Therefore the Church of Christ is sadly incommoded by these men who think they cannot excellently set forth the noble deeds of the saints unless they trick them out with fictitious revelations and miracles. Wherein human impudence hath spared neither the holy Virgin nor Christ our Lord, but men have done with their histories as with other saints, allowing their frivolous human fancies to mingle therein with many vain and ridiculous details. In former years, when I was at the Council of Trent, I heard from some that this evil was remedied by Aloysio Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, who had published a History of the Lives of the Saints after a uniform and serious method. But I have not yet been able to see this, nor has any other come into my hands which, to me at least, would seem trustworthy. It will be a hard and burdensome task, yet most profitable to all Christian folk, that someone should now supply a work worthy of the Saints, of the Church, and of Christ. Yet certainly no man will produce such a work unless he be honest, truth-loving, uncorrupted; a man who not only dares not to say any falsehood, but who dares to say all the truth, lest there be any suspicion of his partiality in writing, or of his secret grudges; and, since these qualities are notoriously inherent in honesty and integrity, I cannot help wondering that Suetonius alone [in his Lives of the Caesars] has kept them all, and that most of our historians have abandoned them all. For these men, who think that the Saints, whose stories they undertake to write, lived altogether apart from human affairs, seem to believe that these saints themselves were not even men. How much more wisely do the Evangelists, who refrain from dissembling even the most grievous lapses of the Apostles themselves, whom we were to take as examples for our whole lives?"

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[8] "From long journeys, long lies." cf. *Piers Plowman,* B. Prologue 46:

"Pilgrims and palmers plighted them together
To seek Saint James and saints in Rome,
They went forth in their way with many wise tales,
And had leave to lie all their life after."

[9] The story of Joachim and Anne, and the childhood of Mary, from the so-called *Protevangelium Jacobi,* which became specially popular among mediæval preachers and artists, though Gelasius had condemned it.

Not only are these things done under the nose of the authorities, but authority itself bears much of the responsibility for them. The censorship (he says), however indirectly, does in practice set a stamp of authenticity even upon blasphemous fables. "It is worth while here to record the levity of those folk who, like old women, easily believe that which they too wretchedly desire. For, in our own time, I know of a priest who was fully persuaded that there was no falsehood whatsoever in anything that had once found its way into print. For, (as he said), the State authorities would not commit such a crime as not only to permit the publication of falsehoods but even to arm them with their privilege, in order that they might filter the more surely into men's minds. On the strength of this argument, he persuaded himself that Amadis and Clarianus had truly wrought those deeds which are recorded in their fabulous books. But here is not the time and place to discuss how much that argument tells against the State authorities. Certainly I say for myself, and in my own opinion and grief, that it is a great calamity and ruin to the Church that, when books are published, the only care is lest they be spotted with errors against the faith, while the same care is not taken lest they be ruinous to morals. . . . But it is my bitterest grief, scarcely in any wise to be consoled, that whereas some men (I wish I could say, no less prudently than zealously) seek to reject and avoid this inconvenience, they do not substitute true and grave histories for these fables (a thing which would be most profitable for the multitude), but books full of Church mysteries, from which the profane should be kept far away. This, in my judgment at least, is most pestilent, all the more so because the common folk read such booklets with the greater security, as noting that these are approved, not only by the civil magistrates, but also by those who are appointed as doctrinal censors in Christ's state. But of that anon; now let us come to the immediate point. We ought rather to pity than to deride the ignorance of that man who was so good or so foolish as to believe in every story without more ado, so long as it had been printed. Yet you may find others, not indeed equally ignorant yet almost equally imprudent, who seek the truth not where she is wont to be found, but where she can rarely be discovered, to wit, in those widespread rumours that float abroad. This happens generally with men of light and inconstant nature; for grave and serious men are not wont to hunt after the empty talk of the multitude. Yet we cannot deny that the gravest men sometimes, and especially when they are describing the miracles of saints, have not only accepted vague rumours but have even handed them down in writing to posterity. In this, as at least it seems to me, they have been either too presumptuous or have gone too far in indulgence for the multitude of the faithful, knowing that the common herd is not only prone to belief in such miracles, but also instant in demanding them. Thus even saints have handed down to memory certain signs and prodigies, not because they were so willing to believe them, but lest they should seem to fall short of what the faithful desired. For they thought this all the more lawful in their own case, since they saw that most renowned authors [*auctores nobilissimi*] had adopted it as their true law in history to record whatsoever was counted as true by the multitude. Nor do I here excuse the writer of that book which is entitled *The Mirror of Examples,*[10] nor even of that history which is called *The Golden Legend.* For in that book you may more often find monstrous distortions of miracles [*miraculorum monstra*] than true miracles; the book was written by a man with mouth of iron and heart of lead, certainly wanting in seriousness and prudence of mind. I excuse ancient and holy and learned writers whose books and whose names I would willingly specify if shame and religion did not forbid; unless, on the other hand, I feared lest my silence here might cause many men either to condemn whatsoever they understood not, or to wander distractedly round the stories of all the Saints." He names even Bede and Gregory the Great, whom he rightly places in the highest class, as authors who have stamped their approval upon things which the critics of his own age cannot accept; but let us err (he says) on the more generous side, and not deal hypercritically with men whose lapses are comparatively few. "Concerning Vincent of Beauvais and St. Antonino [Archbishop of Florence] I judge with more freedom; for each of these has taken less pains to ensure the truth and certainty of his descriptions, than to rake in everything whatsoever that he finds written in any book." Heretics, on their side, wilfully distort history; we may note this from Eusebius onwards; it is strange that Church authorities should be so supine as not to forbid the reading of Carion, a man whose book betrays the most definite Lutheran tendencies, though, in fact, he never formally joined the heretics.

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[10] Doubtless the *Speculum Doctrinale,* a huge collection of anecdotes and moralisations for pulpit use, falsely attributed to the greatest of all mediæval encyclopædists, Vincent of Beauvais, and printed as part of his *Speculum Majus.* It dates from about 1300 A.D.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR AGAINST TRUTH.

Cano is naturally most concerned with the Church's sins of omission in this matter of censorship; with her passive or even active encouragement of pious falsehoods. It is only by the way that he alludes to this Lutheran or crypto-Lutheran Carion; but my non-Romanist readers will naturally be more interested in Roman treatment of books which the Church found inconvenient.

We need not stress the fact that the Jews, though outside altogether, and nominally left to themselves so long as they kept to themselves, found their books frequently confiscated and burnt. Heretical books, again, were always destroyed whenever the authorities could get at them; that was a natural and necessary part of orthodox policy. But it is not generally realised how much further things went than this. The same spirit which prompted what we should call guilty omission, incited also to guilty commission. The authority who encouraged pleasant fictions passed on to stifle unpleasant facts.

The most instructive example here, because the least complicated by modern theological differences, occurred in the early history of the Franciscan Order. All religious denominations are deeply interested now in that story; it is recognised everywhere as valuable for the light it throws even upon modern social and religious problems; yet, if the authorities had had their way, the modern world would have accepted, without suspicion, a version which on some most important points gives the very opposite of the truth.

A brief account of St. Francis's stigmata was written within a few hours of his death (1226) and published throughout the Order at once, by the then Vicar-General. A formal biography, the *Vita Prima,* by Thomas of Celano, was written at papal command and published with papal authorisation in 1229. The world wanted to hear yet more; so, in 1244, the General Chapter appealed for written evidence from the many intimates or more distant disciples who still survived. From these materials, Thomas of Celano compiled his *Vita Secunda;* and the same materials were utilised by other anonymous compilers; the best known of these books is *The Mirror of Perfection.*[1] But a cleavage grew gradually in the Order, between the stricter and laxer parties (" Spirituals " and " Conventuals "), and the early records seemed too favourable to the Spirituals, while the Conventuals were not only in great majority, but also by far the most active politically. Therefore, in 1266, under the generalate of St. Bonaventura, the General Chapter decreed : " We ordain that all legends of St. Francis hitherto written be destroyed; and, wheresoever they may be found outside the Order, let the Brethren do what they can to get rid of them, since the Legend now written by the General hath been compiled in accordance with that which he himself has heard from the mouth of those who were almost always with St. Francis and knew all things for certain; and since these things, when proved to be true, have been diligently inserted in the aforesaid life " by St. Bonaventura. Against this official account, we may set that of a Spiritual, Angelo Clareno. " St. Francis had made many communications to his companions and to the early brethren which have passed into oblivion, partly because all things that had been written in the First Legend [i.e. Celano] were cancelled and destroyed at the bidding of brother Bonaventura when he had written his own new *Life of St. Francis,* and partly again because they were despised, since they seemed contrary to the common course" [of their Franciscan life]. Fortunately, this destruction was not altogether possible; a few friars, here and there, cherished their early records. But of the *Vita Prima,* papally blessed, only twelve copies are known to have survived the Middle Ages; while the *Vita Secunda,* officially approved by the General Chapter, has survived in only two MSS., differing in important particulars, and has been printed only within living memory. His *Tractatus de Miraculis,* written at the command of the then Minister General, was discovered only the other day in a single mutilated copy. Some, again, of the materials sent in by St. Francis's secretary and other intimate friends, survive in scattered manuscripts. And all these survivals prove abundantly the falsehood of the destroyers' plea. St. Bonaventura, as a boy of six, had caught one single glimpse of St. Francis. So far is his *Life* from conveying the collected and purified evidence of the early disciples, that it alone would give us a thoroughly false impression, and would fatally misrepresent the real evolution of the Order between about 1220 and 1260.

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[1] By far the best brief study of the Franciscan sources is that by Prof. F. C. Burkitt in the centenary volume *St. Francis of Assisi, Essays in Commemoration* (Univ. of London Press).

Moreover, the General Chapter records themselves were treated in the same way. The Statutes of 1260 prescribe that in each friary there should be only one copy of each, in the guardian's custody, and "let him take great care that they be not seen by outsiders. Let him cause them to be read monthly to the brethren . . . . and, on the publication of these present Statutes, let the old be destroyed." For this, the editor, Fr. Ehrle, S.J., supplies the obvious reason; lest they should supply matter for dispute between the Spirituals and Conventuals. The result is that, whereas at least eleven General Chapters sat before 1260, in no case has a full list of their Statutes survived, and seldom have we even the briefest summary of their proceedings in some chronicler.

Yet St. Bonaventura was one of the intellectual lights of the thirteenth century, and a real saint: his assessors at that General Chapter were, for character and intelligence, a picked company also. But it has needed the Renaissance and the Reformation to blow away that spirit of pious destruction, and to breathe in upon us the spirit of Milton's *Areopagitica:* "Unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God as it were in the eye."

In Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue,* we see the attitude of an unusually liberal churchman towards book-freedom. He knows nothing of the attitude of the primitive Church towards Bible-reading. The early Fathers, as Salmon points out, "incessantly urged on their readers the duty of searching the Scriptures for themselves" (p. 117). Indeed, the very fact that the Vulgate and earlier versions into Latin were made is a testimony to popular reading; the upper classes, even at Rome, could have read the New Testament in the original Greek; these Latin versions were meant for the middle and lower classes. Chrysostom, preaching to a miscellaneous town congregation, insists: "The grace of the Spirit appointed that publicans and fishermen, tentmakers and shepherds and goatherds, and unlearned and ignorant men, should compose these books, that none of the unlearned might have recourse to this excuse, [that the Scriptures are too difficult for the unlearned to understand]. . . . . . The heathen philosophers, not seeking the common welfare but their own glory, if ever they did say anything useful, concealed it, as it were, in a dark mist. But the Apostles and Prophets did quite the reverse; for what proceeded from them they set before all men plain and clear, as being the common teachers of the world, that each individual might be able, even of himself, to learn the sense of what they said from the mere reading. . . . As for the accounts of miracles and wonderful works and historical facts, are they not plain and intelligible to any common person? This is but a pretext and excuse, and a cloke for laziness, [if you do not read the Bible for yourselves]."

More, however, took a very different point of view; and it is the more necessary to insist upon this, since his actual words have been most unaccountably perverted by modern apologists.[2] More regrets that, whereas the Church forbids all translations made in and since Wyclif's days, she has made no more accurate and authorised translation for her own faithful, thus contrasting with the eagerness of the heretics to print their own Bible, even at a pecuniary sacrifice.[3] No orthodox printer, he points out, would dare to issue any English translation at this time (i.e., on the verge of the Reformation), for fear lest it should be immediately condemned. Yet, on the fundamental question of Bible-reading for the laity, More approves the clerical contention that it needs masticating by the clergy before it is fit for the lay digestion. He would institute an elaborate system of supervision and censorship (p. 245). "For it might be with diligence well and truly translated by some good Catholic and well-learned man, or by divers dividing the labour among them, and after conferring their several parties together each with other. And after that might the work be allowed and approved by the ordinaries, and by their authorities so put unto print as all the copies should come whole unto the bishop's hand. Which he may after his discretion and wisdom deliver to such as he perceiveth honest, sad and virtuous, with a good monition and fatherly counsel to use it reverently with humble heart and lowly mind, rather seeking therein occasion of devotion than of despicion. And providing, as much as may be, that the book be after the decease of the party brought again and reverently restored unto the ordinary. So that, as near as may be devised, no man have it but of the ordinary's hand, and by him thought and reputed for such, as shall be likely to use it for God's honour and merit of his own soul. Among whom if any be proved after to have abused it, then the use thereof to be forbidden him, either for ever, or till he be waxen wiser. . . . Moreover, as I have heard that among the Jews there are some books which the common people are not allowed to read, so might it be amongst us. . . . . And therefore as he [the Bishop] should not fail to find many a man to whom he might commit all the whole, so to say the truth I can see none harm therein, tho' he should commit unto some men the gospel of Matthew, Mark, or Luke, whom he should yet forbid the gospel of St. John, and suffer some to read the Acts of the Apostles, whom he would not suffer to meddle with the Apocalypse. Many were there, I think, that should take much profit by St. Paul's epistle *ad Ephesios,* wherein he giveth good counsel to every kind of people, and yet should find little fruit for their understanding in his epistle *ad Romanos,* containing such high difficulties as very few learned men can very well attain. And in like wise would it be in divers other parts of the bible, as well in the old testament as the new: so that as I say: tho' the bishop might unto some lay man betake and commit with good advice and instruction the whole bible to read: yet might he to some man well and with reason restrain the reading of some part, and from some busy body the meddling with any part at all, more than he shall hear in sermons set out and declared unto him, and in like wise to take the bible away from such folk again, as be proved by their blind presumption to abuse the occasion of their profit unto their own hurt and harm. And thus may the bishop order the scripture in our hands, with as good reason as the father doeth by his discretion appoint which of his children may for his sadness keep a knife to cut his meat, and which shall for his wantonness have his knife taken from him for cutting of his fingers."

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[2] Notably in Cardinal Gasquet's *Eve of the Reformation*, 1900, Chapter viii., and in the same author's *The Old English Bible*. For a full account of the actual facts, see Miss M. Deanesly's *The Lollard Bible* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1920).

[3] Chapter xvi. (*English Works*, 1557, pp. 241 ff).

Yet the Church still drifted on, after the fashion of which we have seen Cano complain. That very censorship which passively condoned the crudest superstitions remained pitiless against lay Bible-students, thus, (as More puts it,) cutting off the head for fear of toothache. In other countries, as More points out, the prohibition was less severe, because there had been no Wycliffite translator on the Continent. In Germany, despite official discouragement and even prohibition, several editions of the vernacular Bible appeared before Luther's; and this accounts to some extent for the popularity of Luther's revolt.

The Reformation, very naturally, led to a still stricter censorship. In many parts of Europe, printers and readers defied this more or less openly; but, wherever the hierarchy was really strong, the system was rigidly enforced. Readers will find, in my Appendix No. XI., a pathetic plea from a distinguished German Benedictine, about 1750 A.D., beseeching Cardinal Baronius to procure him permission to read books on the Index, in so far as these are necessary for his studies. The strict observance of papal prohibitory decrees has the effect (he complains) " that, (not to speak of other [books] innumerable), one cannot safely use a Lexicon or Thesaurus or Index, since nearly all of these have been printed in those places which, sad to say! have departed from the Unity of the One Church." The attempt to kill Galileo's discoveries need hardly be mentioned; but readers familiar with that story may yet be surprised to learn the difficulties experienced by some of the greatest Romanist scholars in connection with the censorship. Mabillon was not only the most learned Benedictine historian who has ever lived, but a man of exemplary piety. When he published his edition of the works of Petrus Cellensis, and drew attention to the evidence supplied by that orthodox monk as to the failings of twelfth century monasticism, this avowal was so mutilated that he preferred to cut out all that half of his Preface. He narrowly escaped papal condemnation when he dared to deny the Augustinian authorship of certain treatises which nobody dares nowadays to defend as authentic. When he ventured to expose the fabulous character of certain accredited saints in his *De Cultu Sanctorum Ignotorum,* this book was put upon the Index. We have seen already how Father Papebroch, perhaps the Jesuit whose mediæval learning will most nearly compare with Mabillon's, appealed vainly to the Pope against the condemnation of his great *Acta Sanctorum* by the Spanish Inquisition. Richard Simon was perhaps the greatest Bible critic that the Roman Church has produced; Bossuet procured the burning of his *Histoire Critique du Vieux-Testament,* which, it is true, scandalised many Protestants as much as it did the Catholics. A list of the books published in Holland or England, to avoid destruction by Roman Catholic authorities, would show how deeply modern civilisation is indebted to the comparative freedom of the Protestant press.

It will be necessary to return to the later history of the censorship in my second volume, where I deal in detail with the literary methods of modern Romanist apologists and controversialists.

This first volume, it is to be hoped, may suffice to prepare my readers for the more detailed particulars examined in my second. It may be seen already, how unsound is the Roman claim to superior clearness of thought and accuracy of exposition. So far from being the most logical of all religious denominations, Romanism is, in some most important respects, the most illogical; at one end, it starts from premisses which few educated men really hold nowadays; and, at the other, it stops artificially short of deductions which would bring her into open conflict with civilised thought. That is why no Romanist with a reputation to lose will ever risk himself under cross-examination. The present volume will doubtless be faithfully dealt with in the safe shelter of the pulpit or the sectarian journal or the book designed for a special public; but there will be no conflict in the open, where loose statements or quibbles can be exposed; where the unprejudiced reader can weigh argument against argument; and (most important of all) can note the facts or the inferences which an adroit disputant knows he must quietly leave unanswered.

APPENDIX OF JUSTIFICATORY DOCUMENTS.

A. FOR PREFACE.

APPENDIX I.

Open Letter to the Seven Roman Catholic Controversialists.

St. John's College, Cambridge. *June 8th, 1929.*

DEAR SIR,

I am interested to read, in religious papers of your communion, that the missionary efforts of this centenary year are awakening many people, especially in Liverpool, to amazement at their own previous ignorance of the truth about the Roman Catholic Church. It is a pity that this instruction should not be more widely spread; and it is equally regrettable, perhaps, that it should not be more directly confronted with the errors which it undertakes to dispel. At present, the situation seems slightly ridiculous. If non-Romanists have lived hitherto in such lamentable darkness, is it not that the light has been hidden too carefully under a bushel? Romanist instruction has been too often confined to the believing minority; it is admirably calculated to fortify the existing faith, but has seldom exposed itself directly to the blast of criticism. If it be replied that non-Romanist preaching has been equally onesided, this assertion may be admitted for the sake of argument, since it will only add to the absurdity of the situation: here are two parties, each equally convinced, equally concerned to convince the public, yet equally shy of the most obvious road to success. It is as though Elijah had deliberately chosen Mount Carmel, and the priests of Baal had chosen some other mountain well out of sight, in order that each might be able to proclaim his own victory to his own peculiar people.

I am, therefore, suggesting an orderly public discussion, to be reported verbatim and printed for the reading public, upon one or more of the main points at issue between the Roman Church and those who hitherto have found themselves unable to accept her teaching. It would be most natural, perhaps, to begin with the fundamental doctrine of *Papal Infallibility,* as defined by the Vatican Council, or *The Causes of the Reformation.* If you are willing to undertake such a discussion, there should be no difficulty in finding a Chairman who would command universal confidence, with conditions of procedure which would be fair to both parties. Certainly such a discussion would secure one enormous advantage. The disputants would have the minimum of temptation to unfair argument, or even to exaggeration; for any reflective person would see that such methods would only damage his cause with a thinking audience, and, still more, with that wider public which would read the report at leisure, verifying statements of fact and balancing conflicting inferences.

I am, therefore, repeating this invitation to the following representative Roman Catholics—I say advisedly, *repeating,* since, by implication or directly, I have already issued similar invitations to all—Messrs. G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, the Jesuit Fathers, H. Thurston, C. C. Martindale, Leslie Walker and F. Woodlock, and the Reverend Bernard Grimley, D.D., Ph.D., who recently held me up in the Roman Catholic *Universe*[1] as a dishonest disputant.

Appendix II.

St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* 2a 2æ. X. 7.

"[Where the faithful are molested by unbelievers,] who strive to corrupt the faith in them . . . . it is necessary to dispute in public about the faith, provided there be those who are equal and adapted to the task of confuting errors; since in this way simple people are strengthened in the faith, and unbelievers are deprived of the opportunity to deceive, while if those who ought to withstand the perverters of the truth of faith were silent, this would tend to strengthen error. Hence Gregory says (Pastor. ii.): '*Even as a thoughtless speech gives rise to error, so does an indiscreet silence leave those in error, who might have been instructed.*'"

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[1] This is a slip; it was the *Catholic Times.*

A. Lépicier, *De Stabilitate et Progressu Dogmatis* (2nd Ed., Rome, 1910, with special commendatory letter from Pius X., p. 217). After quoting the whole passage from St. Thomas, he adds: "And whatsoever we say concerning oral disputation should be said of writings also, which especially need publication in these days, wherever the spirit of error strives to corrupt the purity of the faith, in order that those errors may be refuted whereby the world is infected." And in a footnote: "Yet it must be noted that public disputations of this kind should not be engaged in without the Bishop's licence." For this he quotes four warnings from the Congregation of the Propaganda.

APPENDIX III.

I have already reprinted the following letters as an appendix to the nineteenth of my *Medieval Studies,* without eliciting any reply.

The Universe, March 15, 1929.

Dr. G. G. Coulton sends us the following in reply to Mr. Belloc's article of last week:—

SIR,—With the matters treated by Mr. Belloc in most of his article I will not intrude upon your space. He boasts of having convicted me of inaccuracies; but all of your readers who care to send me a stamped and addressed envelope shall receive an exact reprint of the last two letters exchanged between Mr. Belloc and myself in a recent public controversy; they can then judge for themselves between us.

But Mr. Belloc's concluding sentences convey an accusation so false in its random malice, and so injurious to this University as well as to myself, that I must ask you to permit me a plain correction. Mr. Belloc represents it as a disgrace and as a proof of bitter public hostility to his Church, that I "occupy an official position in one of the two main official teaching bodies of the country, and from that position he is allowed without any protest that I have seen from his colleagues, or from the general Press, to blackguard and malign that religion which, we flatter ourselves, is now so well received."

"What would happen," he asks, "to a Catholic who in such a position let himself go in that fashion? He would be out of his job in a week."

The fact is that, this term, I happen to have five Roman Catholic clergy in my different classes here, all of whom come either by their own choice or by that of their (Roman Catholic) directors, since they were perfectly free to choose alternative subjects or lecturers. Any pupil may, after lecture, discuss with me any point that arouses his disagreement. In fact, I owed several corrections of detail, in earlier days, to an Italian Jesuit whom I had in my class, and who remarked once, towards the end of the course, "after all, the differences between us are rather philosophical than historical." There are Roman Catholic teachers up here, and they are free to say just what they think.

Mr. Belloc himself, if he had succeeded in obtaining that official position in the other of the two main teaching bodies, for which many years ago he competed, would have been free to say exactly what he thought. If in the end he had lost that job, it would have been because undergraduates, after a little while, are keen enough to distinguish random rhetoric from fact and would have deserted him for some duller competitor.

The unpopularity of his Church, in so far as it exists, is mainly created by him and by others like him; men who are not only bullies but cowards. Mr. Belloc knows perfectly well that he would not dare to discuss publicly with me, here or in London, to be reported verbatim and printed, such subjects as Papal Infallibility, Roman Catholic and Protestant Intolerance, or the Causes of the Reformation. In a few days I hope to leave for a month's holiday; it will be a pleasant surprise if I find, on my return, that he has accepted this challenge. Meanwhile, I repeat, any reader who can spare three-halfpence and a quarter of an hour's time may judge between us.

G. G. COULTON.

MR. BELLOC'S ANSWER IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF *Universe*.

Mr. Coulton may rest assured. He will be delighted on returning from his holiday to learn that I have not the slightest intention of wasting my time listening to his dull recital of "one million facts not generally known" against the see of Peter, the doctrine of the eucharist, or any other catholic dogma.

But he may also rest assured that next time he suppresses evidence or misrepresents facts I shall be after him again. I have hooked on; I do not mean to let go.

In *The Listener* for November 27, 1929, Mr. Belloc printed a long article in a series entitled "Points of View." It was, in effect, an assertion of the certainty enjoyed by all Roman Catholics in virtue of Papal Infallibility, and in contrast with the necessary uncertainties of all non-Romanists, whoever they might be. I took up this challenge in the next number, and invited him, as before, to discuss the question under the Editor's chairmanship. I wrote: "I believe, with the large majority of modern historical students, that the doctrine of Infallibility is quite irreconcilable with notorious facts of history. I have also reason to believe, from an occasional study of Mr. Belloc's writings, that he himself is weakest on the ground on which, apparently, he feels most at home; that is, among the philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages. This it is which emboldens me to meet him at the point where, by common consent, the real crux lies, and where discussion would turn mainly on matters of history and of mediæval theology. I am ready to maintain the thesis that the 1870 Decree of Infallibility is irreconcilable with history."

To this he made no reply whatever. I therefore continued, in the issue of January 1: "Since Mr. Belloc shows no sign of maintaining his challenge, though I registered my letter to him on the morning on which it appeared in your columns, you will doubtless permit me to add that, in prevision of cases like this, I have reprinted verbally, without comment, our last interchange of letters on this subject in the public press. Any reader who sends me a stamped addressed envelope shall receive a copy.

"I have already pleaded vainly with Cardinal Bourne, and with seven of the most learned and prominent controversialists on the Roman Catholic side, for a public and orderly discussion of Papal Infallibility. The present Abbot of Downside, who wrote an elaborate defence of Papal Infallibility in answer to Bishop Gore, spoke, on p. 97, of the anti-Infallibility Catholic 'Janus' as 'unscrupulous, unfair, untruthful.' I wrote to ask for the name of any book or books in which the untruthfulness of 'Janus' had been demonstrated, and received only: 'I am sorry you do not share the opinion I formed many years ago as to the value of "Janus."' In these circumstances, how can the 'ignorance' of which Mr. Belloc complains be 'astonishing'? Would it not rather astonish any thoughtful man to find that his fellows should be otherwise than ignorant, while truthworthy information is steadily refused to them?"

Here, again, Mr. Belloc maintained an obstinate silence; and here I am glad to leave him: I now hope to wash my hands of any further dealings with a writer whose confidence and boastfulness of assertion are equalled only by his terror of cross-examination. Whatever he may write henceforth for his own chosen public, impartial readers will probably feel that this brief exposure answers him sufficiently beforehand.

APPENDIX IV.

St. John's College, Cambridge. *January 15th, 1930.*

"MY LORD CARDINAL,

I appeal to you on behalf of the Westminster Catholic Federation, which you have honoured by accepting its Presidency. The Vigilance Committee of that Federation, which has lately been putting pressure upon the London County Council and upon a large number of publishers in order to secure the alteration of a great many passages in our school history books, write at the end of their Report: 'We shall welcome having our attention called to the errors that may be discovered in our notes, as well as to any useful references we have missed.' Since a cursory perusal of their very voluminous report has brought me face to face with what seem numerous and important errors, I hope I may count upon your Eminence's support in publicly correcting these. It is true, they are on the side of the champions of your own Church, but I should pay you and them a bad compliment by assuming that this would render you less anxious to get at the actual truth upon the points in question. Your Eminence's Catholic Federation, pleading with the publishers and the London County Council, urge very truly that no purely personal reason can justify our swerving from the truth of historical facts. Your Federation freely recognise that, for any publisher, the alteration of stereotype plates or the suppression of a whole edition is a serious matter; yet, as they emphatically insist, the claims of conscience are still more serious; they hold up to reprobation, by name, three publishers who ‘ have met us with a flat refusal ’; yet they admit that ‘ we have met with goodwill on the part of some of the publishers.’

With regard to the County Councillors, who had pleaded their own want of expert knowledge in history and who had therefore advised your Federation to approach the publishers directly, your Vigilance Committee write ‘ we must surely see to it that County Councillors are *enlightened* as to the real position and of its seriousness when they can no longer claim their responsibility is saved by confessing their historical ignorance.’ Moreover, your Committee proclaim that they themselves will never weary in their efforts to put pressure upon the Councillors and the publishers, and that ‘ we must go back at once to the London County Council to consolidate our position,’ and thence to other County Councils. Yet they feel that the new methods to be adopted ‘ demand careful consideration, and must be sanctioned by our President, his Eminence the Cardinal, and have his wholehearted approval.’

Here, then, are the grounds of my appeal, in the name of that same historical truth for which your Federation is pleading. In the first place, may I respectfully suggest to your Eminence that your Federation does injustice to the public, and even to itself, by the studied secrecy of its proceedings? The three bulky octavo volumes in which it has reported, and which have been circulated, I understand, in thousands of copies among members of your own Communion, are marked *Privately Printed,* and, in one case, *Confidential.* It was only by chance that my attention was ever drawn to them, by the fact that a copy was left lying in a public place at Cambridge. When I ordered it through a bookseller, he was told that it could not be supplied. I then wrote to the Secretary of the Federation pleading that, though a Protestant, I had as much interest as he in the historical errors of our school books, and adding: 'these questions of historical truth are, in the strictest sense, public questions, and there can be little hope of final agreement unless the conflicting claims are clearly stated.' The answer was another flat refusal, and a complaint that, if I used the considerable extracts which I had made meanwhile from your Federation's volumes, this would be as dishonourable as to make use of a private letter. To this I replied: 'I cannot accept your analogy of a private letter. They were left about for some weeks in a public place in Cambridge; and I had no more hesitation in using them than I should have had in the case of any other State document. Your Church acts as a State, and asks to be treated as a State, and must accept the responsibilities of a State whose interests often conflict violently with those of the majority of Britons, and even sometimes with those of the British Government. I must therefore claim an absolutely free hand in dealing with whatever I have discovered, or can discover in future, of your negotiations to alter the text of our present history books in favour of your Church. When you claim the right to secrecy here, I must put upon you the onus of making the public understand why a matter of such obvious public concern should be looked on as a private secret, and why a body which professes the purification of publicity as its chief aim should so assiduously shun the open air. . . . I must repeat, therefore, that I look upon this as a conflict between two rival States; viz., your Church and the majority of my compatriots; and I have no more hesitation in exposing what seems to me unfair in your procedure than I should have had in exposing German diplomacy during the War.' Again the secretary had pleaded that it would be 'unfair to the publishers' if the documents were laid upon the table. Yet, in fact, those documents contain publishers' letters which your Federation never asked leave to print, and for which one, at least, would have refused such permission, yet which have now been published within your own circle. Any above-board action would doubtless be welcome to the publishers, as showing the real state of affairs to the general public. As things stand at present, the Federation has revealed all the publishers' private correspondence to its numerous readers, while it conceals from these same publishers, who are most closely concerned, its own manœuvres. Therefore I may plead for the abandonment of this underground policy as definitely for the publishers' sake as for the sake of those who, like myself, earn our living by teaching History. And I am bold to hope that your Eminence also, who has pleaded so earnestly for the removal of misunderstandings in this centenary year of Roman Catholic Emancipation, will discountenance a policy, now that your Eminence's attention is drawn to it, which so evidently invites serious misunderstanding.

But I plead also—and this, perhaps, is still more important—in favour of what your Federation itself assures you that it will welcome. If (and this is their constant refrain) 'the poor defenceless children in the Council Schools' have a right to be told the actual facts of history—if, again the Federation urges, 'we are not asking that history should be written from our standpoint; there should be no standpoint in history; facts should be related as they occurred or influenced social conditions of the period'—then your Federation is no less deeply interested than all other people in correcting its own errors, which, I must confess, seem to me numerous, gross, and far-reaching in their implications.

Whether their strictures upon our present histories proceed from one or many advisers is an immaterial question; for the group of critics, if group there was, evidently contained no single member capable of dealing with some of the most important points in mediæval or Reformation History. The Federation certainly did well to consult, at a later stage, a few University teachers whom they do not name, but some of whom can be identified; yet they would have done far better to consult these specialists before embarking on their own campaign of criticism. Let me give two examples from the Federation's Report itself. On the crucial question, whether in France it was the Huguenots or the Roman Catholics who first employed violence, the French specialist is entirely in favour of the ordinary British school histories. Your critic had written 'we refrain from assigning any motive for the following statement [in a book used in the L.C.C. schools]: "the persecution of Protestants [in France] became so great that they took up arms in self-defence," but it is nothing less than a caricature of the truth. . . . What is described by Protestant writers as the "Massacre of Vassy" (March 1st, 1562) was caused by an attempt of the Huguenots to disturb the saying of Mass in a Catholic Church by their loud psalm-singing.' On this your specialist referee (Prof. A. Renaudet) comments: 'On the contrary, we must admire the patience of the French Protestants, who did not fall back upon force until they had endured, for nearly 40 years, the worst acts of violence. . . . In any case, it is false that the Protestants [at Vassy] tried to disturb the celebration of Mass. . . . There is no possible comparison, whether from the moral or the legal standpoint, between the seriousness of the "insolences" and of the "reprisals." The "massacre" was a violation of every law.'

Again, with regard to your critic's assertion that Protestants originally took their name from the fact that they solemnly protested against religious toleration as an unjust and impious idea, another of these University referees decides as follows: 'In view of the remarks which follow the passage I have quoted from the criticisms [of the Federation's critic] I can only regard the opinions there expressed as reprehensibly disingenuous, if the facts were known to the writer [i.e. to that critic] or as at least most unfortunate in view of the facts themselves.'

Here, then, are two questions of the utmost importance on which, as your Eminence may see by verifying these quotations from the Report itself, the minds of poor defenceless children would have been poisoned with indefensible falsehoods, if the Federation's critic could have had his own way. But I am ready to show that these are only a small fraction of the falsehoods which, over and over again in that voluminous Report, are put forward as historical truths with which British children ought to be familiarised. Your Federation, as represented by the person or persons whom it has employed for this job, is evidently far removed from that knowledge of history which alone could justify its interference with the L.C.C. and the publishers. I make this accusation publicly here, with a full sense of responsibility, as one whom my University honours with a regular teaching commission, and who is open daily to the criticism of Roman Catholic students, with some of whom I have entertained very friendly relations, and whom I have sometimes had reason to thank for fresh points of view. But though I write here so strongly, I am far from attempting to dogmatise; on the contrary, I welcome the same plain criticisms which I offer. I only point out (and here, I am sure, your Eminence will agree with me, now that I have called your attention to the facts) that nobody can reasonably expect the publishers and the L.C.C. to alter or condemn their class books at the dictation of a critic whose incompetence has been so plainly exposed by two experts of the Federation's own choice. And, if I go on to accuse him of still greater incompetence, it is only in order that he may have the opportunity of clearing himself and of thus putting your Federation in a far stronger position than it occupies at present, as a self-appointed body of mere partisan pleaders. Upon the following matters which your critic himself singles out as fundamental, and which cover most of the differences of opinion between Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic historians, my conviction is that he is as grievously mistaken as on the two points already exposed: (1) the attitude of the English mind towards the Papacy in the Middle Ages; (2) the lives and activities of the mediæval clergy; (3) the monastic system and its actual working; (4) the Inquisition; (5) the attitude of the Church towards the poor; (6) Wyclif and the Lollards; (7) the true causes of the Reformation; (8) Luther's life and work; and (9) the comparative responsibility of Roman Catholics and Protestants for religious persecution. I am by no means anxious to undertake further work in addition to my present heavy commitments, but the matter is so important that I am willing to discuss any two of these nine subjects, at your critic's own choice, by interchange of letter within reasonable space, and to print the result at my own expense for the enlightenment of the general public, however the argument may turn. It is too much, of course, to expect your Eminence to take further trouble than to pass this on to your Vigilance Committee, who are primarily responsible for what seem to me mischievous falsehoods, and who, even if their critic himself be unwilling, ought to have no difficulty in producing an open and official champion of their cause, since they boast 'allies in the great University.' There are, in fact, Roman Catholic historians in several of our Universities; and, if your Federation can produce one of these allies to convince the public that its views on these fundamental subjects are less inaccurate than those exposed above, I need hardly remind your Eminence how enormously they would improve their present claim to dictate to the British Educational Authorities. They write in their report, 'success can be, must be achieved; truth is on our side.' Therefore I am only taking them at their word—asking that they should make good in public this claim which lies at the very foundation of their private Report."

APPENDIX V.

The Via Media, by J. H. Newman. (London, 1887. 3rd Ed.) Vol. I. p. xxviii.

"I wish these lectures did not furnish many and bad instances of this practice. There was a great deal of calling of names all through them, (I do not mean as regards individuals but as against 'Romanism,') of which the Author has cause to be ashamed. That very word 'Romanism,' together with 'Romanist' and 'Romish,' is an instance, though not the worst. It is not the worst, first from the great need there is of some word to take its place in the case of an Anglican controversialist, who could not consistently with his own pretensions use the right words of Catholic and Catholicity. And again, the offensive word had a specific and definite meaning, convenient in polemical writings, even if elsewhere improper. It was not used in this volume simply for Catholics and their religion; but for that particular aspect, which both their faith and they themselves bore, when they identified themselves with the See of Rome and its characteristic claims and tenets.[1] The more a writer revered that wonderful See and followed its teaching—(and, for several years before these Lectures appeared, their Author had spoken of 'the high gifts and strong claims of the Church of Rome on our admiration, reverence, love and gratitude,' and had asked how we could 'refrain from melting into tenderness and rushing into communion with it,' but for its errors),—the more he had these feelings towards it, the more he needed a word which would distinguish what he accepted from what scandalised him. One of the characteristics of this volume, of which I shall have to say much presently, is the recurring contrast insisted on in it between the theological side of Roman teaching and its political and popular side; and it was the latter which the Author had chiefly in mind when he spoke of Romanists and Romanism. However, Catholics feel that appellation to be a nick-name, whatever may be said in its defence; and it does not become those who are so sensitive at being called Protestants (though Laud took the title to himself on the scaffold), to inflict on us an ambiguous designation which we refuse to accept."

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[1] "Viewed as an active and political power, as a ruling, grasping, ambitious principle, in a word, as what is expressively called Popery," etc., *infra,* p. 83. "This system I have called, in what I have written, Romanism or Popery, and by Romanists or Papists, I mean all its members so far as they are under the power of these principles," *infra,* Vol. II. Letter to Bishop of Oxford.

APPENDIX VI.

Daily Express, Special Correspondent. (Dublin, [23/4/29].)

"The continual use of the term 'Roman Catholic' in official publications of the Free State Government is being criticised in Catholic lay and clerical circles here, on the ground that it is offensive and unnecessary. 'We consider,' said a leading member of the Catholic Truth Society to me to-day, 'that we are sufficiently described by the word *Catholic.* There is only one Catholic Church and one Catholic Faith, and we resent the use of the word *Roman.* We know how conservative Government departments are, but it is time now that this offensive designation was excluded from official documents here. It is, of course, a legacy from the old institutions to the new, but we ought to have finished with it by now.'"

B. FOR TEXT OF VOLUME.

APPENDIX I.

(Chapter III. p. 32.)

The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, Part I. Q. I. art. 10 (from the translation by the Dominican Fathers [Washbourne, 1911] Vol. I. p. 17).

"*I answer that,* The author of the Holy Writ is God, in Whose power it is to signify His meaning, not by words only (as man also can do), but also by things themselves. So whereas in every other science things are signified by words, this science has the property, that the things signified by the words have themselves also a signification, **Therefore that first signification whereby words signify things belongs to the first interpretation, the historical or literal.** That signification whereby things signified by words have themselves also a signification is called the spiritual interpretation, which is based on the literal interpretation, and presupposes it. This spiritual interpretation has a threefold division. As the Apostle says (Heb. vii.) the Old Law is a figure of the New Law, *and the New Law itself* (Dionysius says) *is a figure of future glory.* In the New Law whatever our Head has done is a type of what we ought to do. Therefore, so far as the things of the Old Law signify the things of the New Law, there is the allegorical interpretation, so far as the things done in Christ, or so far as the things which signify Christ, are types of what we ought to do, there is the moral interpretation. So far as they signify what relates to eternal glory, there is the anagogical interpretation. **Since the literal sense is that which the author intends, and since the author of Holy Writ is God, Who by one act comprehends all things by His intellect, it is not unfitting (as Augustine says) if, even according to the literal sense, one word**

in Holy Writ should have several interpretations."

Again, (Part I., Q. XXXII. art 4):

"*I answer that,* Anything is of faith in two ways; directly, where any truth comes to us principally as divinely taught, as the Trinity and Unity of God, the Incarnation of the Son, and the like; and concerning these truths a false opinion of itself involves heresy, especially if it be held obstinately. A thing is of faith, indirectly, if the denial of it involves as a consequence something against faith; **as, for instance, if anyone said that Samuel was not the son of Elcana, for it follows that the Divine Scripture would be false."**

As another instance of St. Thomas's insistence on the inerrancy of literal statements, beyond what I give in my text, see his words in the same book (Q. cii. art. 1). "Those things which are said of [the earthly] Paradise in Scripture are put before us by the method of historical narration. But, in all things which Scripture thus hands down, we must hold to the truth of the story as our foundation, and fabricate our spiritual expositions upon that foundation." Thus (he continues) although the Tree of Life is also a spiritual idea (Proverbs iii. 18), yet there is also an actual Tree of Life growing to the present day in the Earthly Paradise—which Aquinas, of course, located, as Dante does, in the southern hemisphere. Compare a letter in the *Church Times* for March 8th, 1929, p. 277. I there pointed out that St. Thomas makes only three exceptions for the rule of literal inerrancy in Holy Scripture: (1) where the language is too weak to express the thought; (2) where the hearers addressed are too untaught to understand it, and Moses (for instance) must condescend to their ignorance; and (3) where the whole statement is merely allegorical. I am now able to quote the approval of perhaps the best known of modern Thomists, Prof. E. Gilson, of Paris, for this statement of mine.

APPENDIX II.

(Chapter III. p. 38.)

Pernot gives contemporary news about *Pascendi* (pp. 77—99; cf. 108—9). A German priest ventured to write in Latin a protest which he sent to the Pope. Nothing was ever heard of it, naturally, until the *Schwäbischer Merkur* published it in a German translation, and men doubted the author's good faith until he showed that he had registered the original and posted it in the presence of two witnesses. He had written, among other things: "Here, in Germany, the Catholic Faith is certainly more flourishing than in Italy. In spite of this, you seem to be persecuting our theologians, distinguished for their learning and piety, as though they were enemies of the Christian religion." So strong was public feeling among the German Catholics, that some of their principal journals refused to publish the Papal Encyclical. "At Cologne, the *Volkszeitung* had promised beforehand to all its readers, as a sort of bonus, a pamphlet which should contain the text and translation of the Encyclical; it gave up the idea of fulfilling this promise, and excused itself publicly. At Berlin, the *Germania* began to print it in an appendix, but did not continue to the end." The Vatican stormed; a few bishops curried favour by trying to put the screw on; Rome demanded that, at least, the great Catholic papers should "publish articles generally favourable to the Encyclical, without entering into the details whose severity frightened the public. They refused; and one of the principal editors of the German Catholic press even pronounced a remarkable sentence: 'We are quite willing to be bound to Rome; but we don't want men to see the halter round our necks.'" Cardinal Kopp protested against the inquisitorial methods and the encouragement to secret talebearing implied in the Encyclical: "We German Catholics are men, and you would like to make so many children of us." And Pernot concludes: "However this may be, there is more reflection and sincerity—to speak plainly, there is a deeper conviction—in the cold reception that these men have given to the Encyclical, than in the hasty acquiescence, the enthusiastic apologies, and the vague protestations of fidelity with which the Latin Catholics thought it their duty to answer, before they had even taken time to understand the document." While, in France, the bishops showed their servility and nearly all the clergy were forced to toe the line, three distinguished German Catholics protested publicly; Mgr. Erhard, Rector of the Theological Faculty at Strassburg, Professor Schnitzer at Munich, and Dr. Wahrmund, Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at Innsbruck. All three strike the same note: For years, we have been fighting enemies of the Church who maintain that no Catholic can keep his orthodoxy without ignoring or contradicting the conquests of modern science; and now, at last, the Pope proclaims solemnly that we have been wrong, and that our adversaries say no more than the truth!

APPENDIX III.

(Chapter III. p. 39.)

(Innocent III. Regest. lib. II. ep. 209; Migne, *P.L.* Vol. 214, col. 762.)

Innocent III. wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1199, insisting that the divine supremacy of the Holy See could be proved "by many testimonies in the Gospels and from Apostles." First, of course, comes the argument from *Thou art Peter,* etc.; and next we find ourselves in very strange fields of Gospel exegesis. "For James, the Brother of the Lord, who 'seemed to be a pillar,' contenting himself with Jerusalem alone, that there he might raise seed to his dead Brother when that Brother had been crucified, left to Peter not only the Church Universal but also the whole world to govern. For this is shown clearly by the fact that, when the disciples were in their boat and the Lord appeared to them from the shore, then Peter, knowing that it was the Lord, leapt into the sea; and, while the others rowed to land, he himself hastened to the Lord without help of ship. For, since the word *sea* betokens *world* (as it is written in the Psalm which saith ' This is the wide and great sea; there are creeping things innumerable,'[1]) therefore, in that Peter plunged into the sea, he thereby expressed that singular privilege of the pontificate whereby he had undertaken the government of the whole world, the other apostles being contented to be borne in the ship, since to none of them had the whole world been committed, but each had his own province, or rather his own church. Again, in order that he might show himself to be the One Vicar of Christ, when the Lord walked miraculously over the waters, he himself also walked miraculously over the sea waters to meet Him. For, seeing that *many waters* signifieth *many people*,[2] and the seas are the multitude of waters, therefore, in that Peter walked upon the waters of the sea, he showed that he had received power over all the peoples [of the world]." After much more argument from the Bible, not quite so bold as this, he concludes by summoning the Patriarch to a Council which he is about to hold, " to render reverence and obedience to our Apostolic See according to thy canonical rank; lest, if thou do otherwise (which we do not believe) we be compelled to proceed not only against thine Emperor himself (who, if he so will, can give effect to our commands) but also against thee and the Greek Church." Nor was this an idle threat; in 1204, when the Latin Crusaders had taken Constantinople, the Papal Legate inaugurated a Reign of Terror; as a Greek chronicler wrote, "he wished us to recognise the Pope's primacy over all the prelates, and to commemorate his name in public prayers, under pain of death against those who refuse."[3] Has any Protestant field-preacher ever expounded his Bible more absurdly, or to a more wicked conclusion, than this greatest of mediæval Popes? Or, again, than those who condemned Galileo on the strength of Ps. xcii. 2 (Vulg.): "He hath established the world, which shall not be moved"?

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[1] Here Innocent is misled by the gloss on Ps. ciii. 25, which rests on a misinterpretation of the *hoc* in the Vulgate; an interpretation, therefore, which is unintelligible even in the Roman Catholic Douay version.

[2] Here again, on the authority of the gloss on Ps. xvii. 17. It will be noted how delicately the sequel of St. Peter's adventure on the sea is ignored.

The words I quote from Newman on p. 39 were written by him to Sir Andrew Clarke in 1861, with reference to *Essays and Reviews.* It was published in *The Observer* for Sept. 8th, 1929, and the same paper printed a protest from me on Sept. 29th. That protest brought me a series of letters through the post from a writer who occupies an honourable place in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and who tried to convince me that I was mistaken about Aquinas, and who commended me to Fr. Lagrange's summary of the Saint's doctrines on this subject. I could only answer that Fr. Lagrange seemed to me not only to omit some fundamental points of Aquinas's teaching (e.g. the Elkanah and Tree of Life cases), but to distort others. The fact is, that Lagrange has done his best to make Aquinas say, not what he really thought in his own age, but what it would be convenient for modern Romanists that he should have thought; he struggles to bring him into some sort of line with present-day Biblical research and present-day notions of Inspiration. He has met with the usual fate of rationalisers of this kind; while misrepresenting Aquinas on one side, he has offended the hierarchy on the other; and, for all his caution, he has got into trouble more than once with his colleagues and superiors; see Houtin,

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[3] I give the full story in my *Death Penalty,* pp. 23 ff, 51 ff.

Question biblique au XXs, pp. 37, 157, 159, 163, 189, 210, 213—4, 243.

Meanwhile, however, a reference to this subject in the *Church Times* enabled me to appeal to that paper, as one which is read by a good many Roman Catholics as well as Anglicans. I pointed out that, as I read St. Thomas, he made only three exceptions to his strict rule that all statements in the Bible must be taken literally and in their completeness. These are (1) the limitations of human language, especially at a remote period; (2) those imposed by the primitive mentality of the author's contemporaries; and (3) the fact that figurative or allegorical language lends itself to misinterpretation by hasty or ignorant readers. Would any reader (I asked) either point out any other exception, beyond these three, made by St. Thomas to his rule of Biblical inerrancy, or quote me any representative Anglican who, more narrow-minded than St. Thomas, refused to make any one of those three allowances. In other words, could anyone produce evidence for stricter "fundamentalism" in the Anglican than in the mediæval Roman Church? Nor (I added) in the mediæval only, but in that of the seventeenth century, since the Roman Church, by the admission of the best modern Roman Catholic historians, pledged itself officially (though not *ex cathedra*) to "fundamentalist" interpretations of the Bible in condemnation of Galileo.

No evidence was produced. The Dominican, Fr. Vincent Mc Nabb (Nov. 22nd) did indeed contribute a pretentious and confused exposition, carefully avoiding the three definite questions which I had asked about St. Thomas, vouchsafing no adequate references, and making two statements so patently false that I challenged him at once for references. He relapsed into silence, nor did he come forward even when, on Dec. 20th, I summed up as follows: "I hope I may now interpret Fr. Mc Nabb's prolonged silence so far in favour of the Anglican Church, and so far against the contrast attempted by Cardinal Newman, as to assume that my Dominican critic is not prepared to find in St. Thomas any exception to ‘ fundamentalism ’ beyond those three which I had specified; nor, again, to discover in representative Anglicanism any refusal to admit St. Thomas's three exceptions.

A few weeks after writing this, I had the good fortune to meet Professor Etienne Gilson, who is probably the best-known authority on St. Thomas Aquinas. I took the liberty of putting to him categorically the exact three points which I had put forward in the *Church Times;* could he supply me with any reasons which St. Thomas would ever have given for refusing to accept any Bible statement as literally true, beyond those three which I had rehearsed. Professor Gilson's answer was in the negative; he was not prepared to name any Thomistic exception to biblical inerrancy beyond those three. Nor has anyone, I believe, professed to advance any other such point *from St. Thomas's own writings.*

APPENDIX IV.

(Chapter IV. p. 46.)

Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* Supp.

QUESTION XCIV.

OF THE RELATIONS OF THE SAINTS TOWARDS THE DAMNED.

(In Three Articles.)

“ We must next consider the relations of the saints towards the damned. Under this head there are three points of inquiry: (1) Whether the saints see the sufferings of the damned? (2) Whether they pity them? (3) Whether they rejoice in their sufferings?

FIRST ARTICLE.

WHETHER THE BLESSED IN HEAVEN WILL SEE THE SUFFERINGS OF THE DAMNED?

"*We proceed thus to the First Article:—*

"*Objection* 1. It would seem that the blessed in heaven will not see the sufferings of the damned. For the damned are more cut off from the blessed than wayfarers. But the blessed do not see the deeds of wayfarers: wherefore a gloss on Isa. lxiii. 16, *Abraham hath not known us,* says: *The dead, even the saints, know not what the living, even their own children, are doing.*[4] Much less therefore do they see the sufferings of the damned.

"*Obj.* 2. Further, Perfection of vision depends on the perfection of the visible object: wherefore the Philosopher says (*Ethic.* x. 4) that *the most perfect operation of the sense of sight is when the sense is most disposed with reference to the most beautiful of the objects which fall under the sight.* Therefore, on the other hand, any deformity in the visible object redounds to the imperfection of the sight. But there will be no imperfection in the blessed. Therefore they will not see the sufferings of the damned wherein there is extreme deformity.

"*On the contrary,* It is written (Isa. lxvi. 24): *They shall go out and see the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against Me;* and a gloss says: *The elect will go out by understanding or seeing manifestly, so that they may be urged the more to praise God.*

"*I answer that,* **Nothing should be denied the blessed that belongs to the perfection of their beatitude.** Now everything is known the more for being compared with its contrary, because when contraries are placed beside one another they become more conspicuous. **Wherefore in order that the happiness of the saints may be more delightful**

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[4] S. Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis* xiii., xv.

to them and that they may render more copious thanks to God for it, they are allowed to see perfectly the sufferings of the damned.

"*Reply Obj.* 1. This gloss speaks of what the departed saints are able to do by nature: for it is not necessary that they should know by natural knowledge all that happens to the living. But the saints in heaven know distinctly all that happens both to wayfarers and to the damned. Hence Gregory says (*Moral.* xii.) that Job's words (xiv. 21), '*Whether his children come to honour or dishonour, he shall not understand,' do not apply to the souls of the saints, because since they possess the glory of God within them, we cannot believe that external things are unknown to them.*[5]

"*Reply Obj. 2.* Although the beauty of the thing seen conduces to the perfection of vision, there may be deformity of the thing seen without imperfection of vision: because the images of things whereby the soul knows contraries are not themselves contrary. Wherefore also God Who has most perfect knowledge sees all things, beautiful and deformed.

SECOND ARTICLE.

WHETHER THE BLESSED PITY THE UNHAPPINESS OF THE DAMNED?

"*We proceed thus to the Second Article:—*

"*Objection* 1. It would seem that the blessed pity the unhappiness of the damned. For pity proceeds from charity;[6] and charity will be most perfect in the blessed. Therefore they will most especially pity the sufferings of the damned.

"*Obj.* 2. Further, The blessed will never be so far from taking pity as God is. Yet in a sense God compassionates our afflictions, wherefore He is said to be merciful.

"*On the contrary,* Whoever pities another shares somewhat in his unhappiness. But the blessed cannot share in any unhappiness. Therefore they do not pity the afflictions of the damned.

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[5] Concerning this *Reply* cf. P. I., Q. LXXXIX., A. 8.

[6] Cf. II.-II., Q. XXX.

"*I answer that,* Mercy or compassion may be in a person in two ways: first by way of passion, secondly by way of choice. In the blessed there will be no passion in the lower powers except as a result of the reason's choice. Hence compassion or mercy will not be in them, except by the choice of reason. Now mercy or compassion comes of the reason's choice when a person wishes another's evil to be dispelled: wherefore in those things which, in accordance with reason, we do not wish to be dispelled, we have no such compassion. But so long as sinners are in this world they are in such a state that without prejudice to the Divine justice they can be taken away from a state of unhappiness and sin to a state of happiness. Consequently it is possible to have compassion on them both by the choice of the will,—in which sense God, the angels and the blessed are said to pity them by desiring their salvation,—and by passion, in which way they are pitied by the good men who are in the state of wayfarers. But in the future state it will be impossible for them to be taken away from their unhappiness: and consequently it will not be possible to pity their sufferings according to right reason. **Therefore the blessed in glory will have no pity on the damned.**

"*Reply Obj. 1.* Charity is the principle of pity when it is possible for us out of charity to wish the cessation of a person's unhappiness. But the saints cannot desire this for the damned, since it would be contrary to Divine justice. Consequently the argument does not prove.

"*Reply Obj. 2.* God is said to be merciful, in so far as He succours those whom it is befitting to be released from their afflictions in accordance with the order of wisdom and justice: not as though He pitied the damned, except perhaps in punishing them less than they deserve.

THIRD ARTICLE.

WHETHER THE BLESSED REJOICE IN THE PUNISHMENT OF THE WICKED?

"*We proceed thus to the Third Article:*—

"*Objection* 1. It would seem that the blessed do not rejoice in the punishment of the wicked. For rejoicing in another's evil pertains to hatred. But there will be no hatred in the blessed. Therefore they will not rejoice in the unhappiness of the damned.

"*Obj.* 2. Further, The blessed in heaven will be in the highest degree conformed to God. Now God does not rejoice in our afflictions. Therefore neither will the blessed rejoice in the afflictions of the damned.

"*Obj. 3.* Further, That which is blameworthy in a wayfarer has no place whatever in a comprehensor. Now it is most reprehensible in a wayfarer to take pleasure in the pains of others, and most praiseworthy to grieve for them. Therefore the blessed nowise rejoice in the punishment of the damned.

"*On the contrary,* It is written (Ps. lvii. 11):[7] *The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge.*

"Further, It is written (Isa. lvi. 24):[8] *They shall satiate the sight of all flesh.* Now satiety denotes refreshment of the mind. Therefore the blessed will rejoice in the punishment of the wicked.

"*I answer that,* A THING MAY BE A MATTER OF REJOICING IN TWO WAYS. FIRST DIRECTLY, WHEN ONE REJOICES IN A THING AS SUCH: AND THUS THE SAINTS WILL NOT REJOICE IN THE PUNISHMENT OF THE WICKED. Secondly, indirectly, by reason namely of something annexed to it: and in this way the saints will rejoice in the punishment of the wicked, by considering therein the order of Divine justice and their own deliverance, which will fill them with joy. **And thus the Divine justice and their own deliverance will be the direct cause of the joy of the blessed: while the punishment of the damned will cause it indirectly.**

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[7] [According to Vulgate numeration: Ps. lviii. in A.V. (G.G.C.)]

[8] Douay,—*They shall be a loathsome sight to all flesh.* [The reference is a slip of Dominican translators; should be lxvi. 24. G.G.C.]

"*Reply Obj. 1.* To rejoice in another's evil as such belongs to hatred, but not to rejoice in another's evil by reason of something annexed to it. Thus a person sometimes rejoices in his own evil as when we rejoice in our own afflictions, as helping us to merit life: *My brethren, count it all joy when you shall fall into divers temptations* (Jas. i. 2).

"*Reply Obj. 2.* Although God rejoices not in punishments as such, He rejoices in them as being ordered by His justice.

"*Reply Obj.* 3. It is not praiseworthy in a wayfarer to rejoice in another's afflictions as such: yet it is praiseworthy if he rejoice in them as having something annexed. However, it is not the same with a wayfarer as with a comprehensor, because in a wayfarer the passions often forestall the judgment of reason, and yet sometimes such passions are praiseworthy, as indicating the good disposition of the mind, as in the case of shame, pity and repentance for evil: whereas in a comprehensor there can be no passion but such as follows the judgment of reason."

APPENDIX V.

(Chapter IV. p. 49.)

St. Thomas devotes more than six folio pages to the pains of the damned, insisting on the literal reality of the fire which tortures them (*Sum. Theol.* Supp. QQ. LXX., XCVIII. sq.). Richard of Middleton devotes ten folio pages (*Sup. IV. Lib. Sent.* Vol. 3, Brescia, 1591, pp. 701 ff). Calvin is content with far briefer descriptions of the next world (*Institutes,* Bk. III. c. xxv. § § 10—12). Of heaven he writes: "Anyone who attentively considers the Scriptures will see not only that they promise eternal life to believers, but a special reward to each. Hence the expression of Paul, 'The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day' (2 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14). This is confirmed by our Saviour's promise, that 'they shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life' (Matt. xix. 29). In short, as Christ, by the manifold variety of His gifts, begins the glory of His body in this world, and gradually increases it, so He will complete it in heaven. While all the godly with one consent will admit this, because it is sufficiently attested by the word of God, they will, on the other hand, avoid perplexing questions which they feel to be a hindrance in their way, and thus keep within the prescribed limits. In regard to myself, I not only individually refrain from a superfluous investigation of useless matters, but also think myself bound to take care that I do not encourage the levity of others by answering them." And of Hell: "Few out of the vast multitude of mankind feel concerned how they are to get to heaven; all would fain know before the time what is done in heaven. Almost all, while slow and sluggish in entering upon the contest, are already depicting to themselves imaginary triumphs. Moreover, as language cannot describe the severity of the divine vengeance on the reprobate, their pains and torments are figured to us by corporeal things, such as darkness, wailing and gnashing of teeth, unextinguishable fire, the ever-gnawing worm (Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13; Mark ix. 43; Isa. lxvi. 24). It is certain that by such modes of expression the Holy Spirit designed to impress all our senses with dread, as when it is said, 'Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared: he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it' (Isa. xxx. 33). As we thus require to be assisted to conceive the miserable doom of the reprobate, so the consideration on which we ought chiefly to dwell is the fearful consequence of being estranged from all fellowship with God, and not only so, but of feeling that His majesty is adverse to us, while we cannot possibly escape from it. For, first, His indignation is like a raging fire, by whose touch all things are devoured and annihilated. Next, all the creatures are the instruments of His judgment, so that those to whom the Lord will thus publicly manifest His anger will feel that heaven, and earth, and sea, all beings, animate and inanimate, are, as it were, inflamed with dire indignation against them, and armed for their destruction. Wherefore, the Apostle made no trivial declaration when he said that unbelievers shall be 'punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His power' (2 Thess. i. 9). And whenever the prophets strike terror by means of corporeal figures, although in respect of our dull understanding there is no extravagance in their language, yet they give preludes of the future judgment in the sun and the moon, and the whole fabric of the world. Hence, unhappy consciences find no rest, but are vexed and driven about by a dire whirlwind, feeling as if torn by an angry God, pierced through with deadly darts, terrified by His thunderbolt, and crushed by the weight of His hand; so that it were easier to plunge into abysses and whirlpools than endure these terrors for a moment. How fearful, then, must it be to be thus beset throughout eternity! On this subject there is a memorable passage in the ninetieth psalm: Although God by a mere look scatters all mortals, and brings them to nought, yet as His worshippers are more timid in this world, He urges them the more, that He may stimulate them, while burdened with the cross, to press onward until He Himself shall be all in all."

An instance of the milder statements of Peter Lombard's conclusion may be found in the classical Bible commentator of the Middle Ages, Nicholas de Lyra, on Isaiah lxvi. 24: "Not meaning thereby that the Blessed delight in the pains of the Damned as such [*per se*], but because such a contemplation of the Damned declared unto them the exercise of God's justice and the benefit of God's mercy, whereby they have escaped from those pains; and also the increase of their own glory, in so far as it appeareth greater in comparison with its contrary; since contraries, when opposed to each other, appear greater and less [respectively, as Aristotle saith] *Elench* i.; and by these three things the Elect are moved to joy, as is written in Ps. lvii. 11."

APPENDIX VI.

(Chapter VI. p. 73.)

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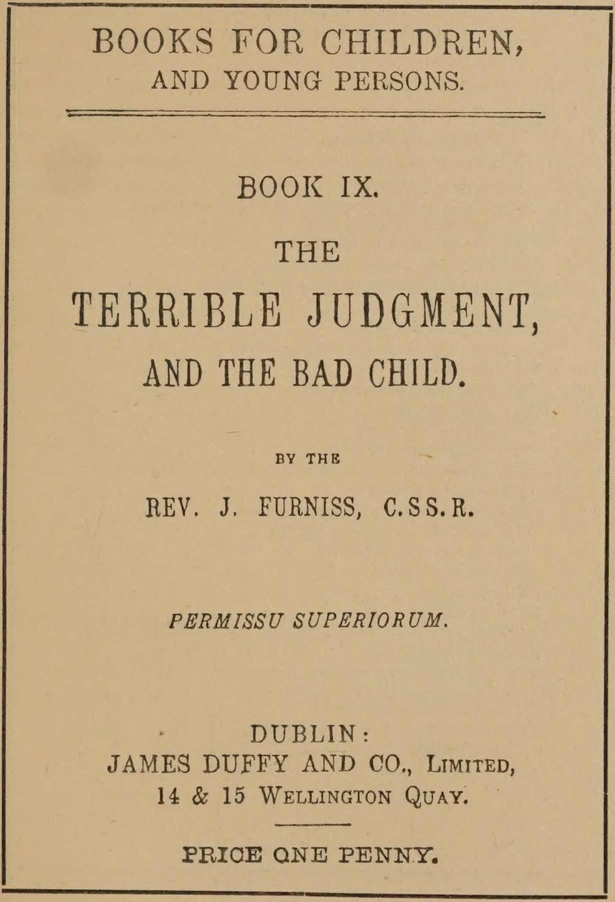

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN,
AND YOUNG PERSONS.

BOOK IX.

THE
TERRIBLE JUDGMENT,
AND THE BAD CHILD.

BY THE
REV. J. FURNISS, C.SS.R.

PERMISSU SUPERIORUM.

DUBLIN:
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Extract from Book IX. pp. 16 ff. I abbreviate enormously; but the portions omitted are sometimes almost as ghastly as these specimens.

"A man gave sixpence to one of his children, and said, 'Go and buy bread with this sixpence.' Instead of buying bread, the child bought sugar-sticks and other foolish things. Jesus Christ gave many graces to the child to save its soul. He will Himself examine most strictly, to see what use the child made of these graces. He will say, 'Little child, give me an account of every grace I gave you to save your soul with. I made you a Catholic, did you live like a good Catholic? I gave you the grace of baptism; what did you do with your baptismal innocence? . . . . .' Alas, how often will it be found that the child was told to pray, and *it neglected.* It was told to read good books; *it neglected.* It was told to go to Mass or confession, or Catechism; *it neglected.* . . . . . .

"Whether the child will go to heaven or not, does not exactly depend on the mortal sins it may have committed, or the good works it may have done in its life. All depends on this one single thing: At the moment when the child died, was there a mortal sin or not in its soul? This will soon be known. If there is a mortal sin found now in its soul, the child must surely go to Hell; if not, it will go to heaven . . . . . .

"There is a Hebrew word, *scibboleth,* which means an ear of corn. Now the people of Ephraim could not say this word right. . . . . So this one thing, whether a person could say the letter *C* or not, settled whether he was to live or die. So this one thing, *Is there a mortal sin, or not,* in the child's soul, will settle whether it is to go to Hell or heaven. . . . . . .

"Oh, the frightful, the terrible, the horrible sight. *There is a mortal sin there.* Moses held up a stick before Pharaoh, and in one moment the stick was changed into a serpent. So in this one moment that child seems to be changed into a devil! The angels turn away from the sight in horror and fright. . . . .

"The child has fallen down on its knees before Jesus. How pitifully it lifts up its tearful eyes to Him! How it stretches out its hands to Him for mercy! In a voice broken with sobs and tears it says, 'Jesus, have pity on me. Jesus, do not send me to Hell. I was a poor ignorant child, I knew no better.' Jesus answers the child and says: 'You say that you were ignorant, that you knew no better. Tell me, was it not your own fault that you were ignorant? Was not the priest always ready to instruct you? Why did you stop away from Catechism and Sunday School, and from Mass? Do you not also remember that mission I sent for the salvation of your soul? Why did you stop away from it?' . . . . . .

"The child has said all. Its heart is bursting with sorrow and anguish. It is withering away with fear and expectation of the dreadful sentence which will come upon it.

"Jesus Christ now orders the cross to be taken away. Oh how the child roars and screams when it sees the cross going away. It is a sign that mercy is no more! There is a deep and a terrible silence amongst the angels and the devils; not a whisper, not a breathing is heard. The child dare not lift up its eyes. They are cast down on the black deep which is under its feet. It bends a little forward, for already it feels the breath of that terrible curse which is coming upon it. Isa. xxx.—'His wrath burneth and is heavy to bear. His breath as a torrent overflowing.' The child's heart sickens. It seems to it that the sun has become black as sackcloth of hair, and the heavens have departed as a book folded up.—Apoc. vi. Now the ears of the child are open to hear the last tremendous sentence. . . . . . .

"'This is the sentence—Depart from me, wicked child. Go away from me. You shall never, never see my face any more. You have chosen during your lifetime to obey the devil rather than obey me. Therefore with the devil you shall be tormented in Hell. The smoke of your torments shall rise up before me night and day. Your painful cries shall come up to me for ever and ever. But I will never listen to them. And now you shall have not a blessing, but a curse from God who created you, wicked child! The curse of God the Father Almighty, who made you, is upon you.—I am God the Son, my curse is upon you.—The curse of the Holy Ghost who sanctified you is upon you.—The curse of every creature is upon you, because you have disobeyed God your Creator.' Gen. xxvii.—' When Esau heard his father's words, he roared out with a great cry and great indignation.'

" Jesus Christ now lets the devils know that the child no longer belongs to Him, but to them. Isa. v.—' He will lift up a sign to them, and behold they will come with speed swiftly.' . . . . .

" Jesus Christ is no longer to be seen. The angels are gone back to heaven. Even the child's angel guardian, after one last sorrowful look, is gone! He will never be at its side any more. He will never pray for it any more. The last ray of angelic light can no more be seen. Heaven is shut for evermore against the wicked child.

" There is a fearful, a terrible darkness. The thickest, blackest darkness fills all the skies. Isa. lx.—' Thou shalt no more have the sun for thy light by day, neither shall the brightness of the moon enlighten thee.' The child sees through this darkness that all the skies are filled with most frightful devils. . . . . . Thousands and millions on every side coming round it. It cannot get away from them. On they come more swiftly than the wind, like hungry dogs would come to a bone.

" Poor child, ' What will you do in the day of your calamity which cometh from afar? To whom will you fly for help? '—Isa. x. It is of no use for the child to pray to its angel guardian to help it. The time of help is passed. Besides, the prayer would never reach him. Neither is it of any use now to cry *Jesus and Mary,* *help me!* There was a time when this prayer would have saved it from the devils. But that time will never come back again. Now the foremost ranks of the devils are near at hand, close to the child. They are hissing at it, and spitting fire and venom upon it. They stretch out their great claws of red-hot fire to get hold of the child. Listen! do you hear the cry of the unfortunate child? That cry went from one end of the sky to the other. What is the matter? The child felt the fire of Hell for the *first time*. The devils have fast hold of it with their fiery claws. Numbers xvi.—' Core, Dathan and Abiron were very wicked men. God made the earth open and swallow them up. They went alive down into Hell, and they flew away in fright.' But nobody has heard the terrible cry of the child except the devils. Perhaps the brothers and sisters of the child at that moment are praying in the house round the dead body. But they do not hear the cry, their prayer does the child no good. ' No brother can redeem and give to God the price of the redemption of its own soul.'—Ps. xlviii.

" The child's cries are drowned in the uproar and blasphemies of millions of devils. It struggles against the devils. It tries to get away from them. Poor child, it is of no use for you to try against millions of devils.

" Now the devils have fast hold of the child. They do not wait any longer. They drag it down through the skies. It is a long journey down to Hell. But the journey is soon over. Already they have brought the child before the gates of Hell. They knock at the gates. When somebody comes to a house, a bell is rung to let people know that he is coming in. So this knocking at the gates of Hell tells that a soul is coming too. The sound of this knocking is heard through every part of Hell, like thunder rolling through the skies. All Hell is stirred up. Hell is in an uproar of rejoicing because another soul is coming amongst them to share their torments.

"St. Bridget heard the uproar that was made when a soul went into Hell, and she says that it was louder than if the Heavens and the Earth were broken in pieces. Now the gates of Hell are opened. The light of the red flames bursts through the gate and shines on the eyes of the child, from which two rivers of tears are running down. The child now sees for the first time through the gates *the real fire of Hell!* It learnt about it in the Catechism, and now it sees it. The devils are lifting the child up to throw it into Hell. Then the child's brain gets wild and mad with fright! It shrieks. It cries out. It roars, 'Oh, do not throw me into Hell. Let me go back, I will be so good.' The devils laugh at it, and scoff as devils only can scoff. Again the child cries:—'I cannot, I will not.'—The gates of Hell are shut. The child is in the inside, burning.

"The wicked child has been burning in Hell for years and years. Day and night it has been frightened out of its senses by the terrible cries and groans and howlings of the damned.

"A certain moment has come. Something happens in Hell which never happened before. Every groan, every shriek, every cry is hushed. The black stones of Hell have been shaken to their foundations. Hell is as silent as the grave. What is the matter? A voice has been heard, as the voice of the loudest trumpet. That voice has gone over every land and into the depths of the sea. That voice has pierced the highest Heavens and gone into the deep places of Hell. That voice has cried,—'*Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment.*'—It is the great day of judgment! Slowly and unwillingly the damned move out of Hell, because they know that fresh torments are coming on them. The child has gone out along with them. . . . . The earth opens wide, an immense black deep is seen. The wicked are swallowed up in it. They go down into Hell in dreadful confusion—devils, men, women, and the child along with them. The gates of Hell are shut once more and for ever; they will never be opened again! The wicked child is in Hell for ever and ever."

There are 33 pages of this. Yet Canon Drake, Canon and Rector of the Roman Catholic Church at Norwich, publicly defended this book against Dean Inge's strictures in *The Eastern Daily Press* for March 9th, 1920. He owns that the descriptions "are certainly very crude and material, and, in the absence of any definite pronouncement by the Catholic Church upon the precise mode of punishment in hell, except that it is by fire, depend on the very vivid imagination of the author." But even "the furnaces and dungeons of *The Sight of Hell* would be paradise compared to [the reality]; and, if I thought it would do any good, I would gladly purchase a thousand copies of *The Sight of Hell,* and distribute them to the great number of those who in this and other large cities present on a Sunday night the melancholy spectacle of 'fiends in the making.'"

Mr. Barrett, from his long experience in the Jesuit Order, shows that St. Ignatius's insistence on the frequent and detailed meditation of hell is still strongly operative, if only indirectly. When in one convent, the lay-brethren thought themselves oppressed and held a meeting in their own "recreation room" to discuss their rights, they were dispersed by a saintly but stern superior who came in among them and dismissed them with the words: "You have no rights but hell-fire." Again, "one meets many types of bores in the Society, of whom the worst of all *is the cheerful saint with the utterly doleful face.* Fear of hell is stamped upon his countenance all day long, and yet when he meets you he seems to regard it as his duty to 'cheer you up.'" And again: "One of the worst features in the Jesuit Noviceship training is the emphasis on the fear motive. This motive is presented in the form of 'fear of losing one's vocation,' which is painted as the most terrible of evils, a kind of predestination to damnation." *(The Jesuit Enigma,* pp. 75, 227, 295, 311.)

APPENDIX VII.

(Chapter VI. p. 75.)

Ward's *Life of Newman,* Vol. I. 1912, p. 246.

" As to what you say about eternal punishment it is to me, as to most men, the great crux in the Christian system as contemplated by the human mind. It is to me what the doctrine of predestination is to Ward. But then *is there to be no trial of faith?* The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, transubstantiation, grace, nay, the Incarnation (for it is against no attribute) are to me no trial. Am I to have none? Reason is able to approve of much—is it to approve of all? Another consideration is our utter ignorance of what is meant by eternity—it is not infinite time. . . . . I would add, it is the turning point between Christianity and pantheism, it is the critical doctrine—you can't get rid of it—it is the very characteristic of Christianity. We must, therefore, look matters in the face. Is it more improbable that eternal punishment should be true or that there should be no God; *for if there be a God, there is eternal punishment* (a posteriori)."

Father Rickaby, on the other hand, agrees with the Scholastics as basing his belief in eternal punishment on the Bible and the voice of the Church. He writes: " The fact of eternal punishment we take from revelation. Having so accepted it, it is not difficult to see the reasonableness of it." (*Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,* p. 43.)

APPENDIX VIII.

(Chapter VII. p. 80.)

Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* IIa. IIae. Q. XI. art. iii.

" WHETHER HERETICS OUGHT TO BE TOLERATED?

" *We proceed thus to the Third Article:—*

" *Objection* 1. It seems that heretics ought to be tolerated. For the Apostle says (2 Tim. ii. 24, 25):

'The servant of the Lord must not wrangle, . . . with modesty admonishing them that resist the truth, if peradventure God may give them repentance to know the truth, and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil.' Now if heretics are not tolerated but put to death, they lose the opportunity of repentance. Therefore it seems contrary to the Apostle's command.

"*Obj.* 2. Further, Whatever is necessary in the Church should be tolerated. Now heresies are necessary in the Church, since the Apostle says (1 Cor. xi. 19): *'There must be . . . . heresies, that they . . . . who are reproved, may be manifest among you.'* Therefore it seems that heretics should be tolerated.

"*Obj.* 3. Further, The Master commanded His servants (Matt. xiii. 30) to suffer the cockle *to grow until the harvest,* i.e. the end of the world, as a gloss explains it. Now holy men explain that the cockle denotes heretics. Therefore heretics should be tolerated.

"*On the contrary,* The Apostle says (Tit. iii. 10, 11): *'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid: knowing that he, that is such an one, is subverted.'*

"*I answer that,* With regard to heretics two points must be observed: one, on their own side, the other, on the side of the Church. On their own side there is the sin, whereby they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but also to be severed from the world by death. For it is a much graver matter to corrupt the faith which quickens the soul, than to forge money, which supports temporal life. Wherefore if forgers of money and other evildoers are forthwith condemned to death by the secular authority, **much more reason is there for heretics, as soon as they are convicted of heresy, to be not only excommunicated but even put to death.**

"On the part of the Church, however, there is mercy which looks to the conversion of the wanderer, wherefore she condemns not at once, but *after the first and second admonition,* as the Apostle directs: **after that, if he is yet stubborn, the Church, no longer hoping for his conversion, looks to the salvation of others, by excommunicating him and separating him from the Church, and furthermore delivers him to the secular tribunal to be exterminated thereby from the world by death.** For Jerome commenting on Gal. v. 9, *A little leaven,* says: *'Cut off the decayed flesh, expel the mangy sheep from the fold, lest the whole house, the whole paste, the whole body, the whole flock, burn, perish, rot, die. Arius was but one spark in Alexandria, but as that spark was not at once put out, the whole earth was laid waste by its flame.'*

"*Reply Obj.* 1. This very modesty demands that the heretic should be admonished **a first and second time: and if he be unwilling to retract, he must be reckoned as already *subverted,*** as we may gather from the words of the Apostle quoted above.

"*Reply Obj.* 2. The profit that ensues from heresy is beside the intention of heretics, for it consists in the constancy of the faithful being put to the test, and *makes us shake off our sluggishness, and search the Scriptures more carefully,* as Augustine states (*De Gen. cont. Manich.* i.). What they really intend is the corruption of the faith, which is to inflict very great harm indeed. Consequently, we should consider what they directly intend, and expel them, rather than what is beside their intention, and so tolerate them.

"*Reply Obj. 3.* According to *Decret.* xxiv. (qu. iii., can. *Notandum*), *to be excommunicated is not to be uprooted.* A man is excommunicated, as the Apostle says (1 Cor. v. 5) that his *spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord.* Yet if heretics be altogether uprooted by death, this is not contrary to our Lord's command, which is to be understood as referring to the case **when the cockle cannot be plucked up without plucking up the wheat,** as we explained above (Q. X., A. 8, *ad* I.), when treating of unbelievers in general."

The earlier section, to which Aquinas here refers us back, runs as follows:

"*Reply Obj.* 1. Some have understood the authority quoted to forbid, not the excommunication but the slaying of heretics, as appears from the words of Chrysostom. Augustine, too, says (*Ep. ad Vincentian.* xciii.) of himself: '*It was once my opinion that none should be compelled to union with Christ, that we should deal in words, and fight with arguments. However this opinion of mine is undone, not by words of contradiction, but by convincing examples. Because fear of the law was so profitable, that many say: Thanks be to the Lord Who has broken our chains asunder.* Accordingly, the meaning of our Lord's words, *Suffer both to grow until the harvest,* must be gathered from those which precede, *lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it.*' For, as Augustine says (*Contra Ep. Parmen.* iii.) '*these words show that when this is not to be feared, that is to say, when a man's crime is so publicly known, and so hateful to all, that he has no defenders, or none such as might cause a schism, the severity of discipline should not slacken.*'"

It will be seen how definitely Aquinas here appeals, not to St. Augustine's earlier decision that force should not be used, but to this later retractation: Augustine has convinced himself by experience that force is "profitable," and that it is therefore right that men "should be compelled to union with Christ."

APPENDIX IX.

(Chapter VII. p. 81.)

The 23rd sermon of St. Bernardino's Lententide course is devoted to proving that "outside the one Catholic Faith, no man is saved." Taking his text from

Hebrews xi. 6, "Without faith it is impossible to please God," he assumes that *charitas,* or love of God, is dependent upon faith,[9] and proceeds: "From this text it appeareth the more plainly that all who are in erroneous faith, such as Saracens, heretics and such like, and, also, all those who, although they are in the bosom of the Catholic Church, die without charity, are in peril for eternity [*aeternum periclitantur*], since they can most truly be called wicked, as men who have no part in the love of God, which is the fount of all piety. Of them the Lord saith, in that text already quoted, *He will bring those evil men to an evil end.* Now there are many erring folk, deceived by their own blindness, who by reason of the different religions or sects, or through the words of Mahomet or other false teachers, believe that each is saved in his own faith or sect, provided only that he believe it to be good and given by God, and that God is pleased with that which he doeth. Such men wonder that others should be damned who for God's sake do whatsoever they do, thinking thereby to do God service; and, though such do ill, yet they do it in ignorance, as do divers sects in the world, and even many among Christians, and many women who follow after enchantments of herbs and other errors, yet who do so in ignorance and simplicity. Moreover, men wonder most of all at those who for God's sake or on His account bear tortures not only patiently but even (it seems) with gladness, as we hear of many heretics in our own days; for such have gladly accepted fire and other torments, saying that they bore or suffered all for God's sake, and even (as we believe) holding this in their hearts. But all these aforesaid are evil, since they are found outside the only Catholic Church or Faith, and outside God's love; they shall perish everlastingly, as the Apostle saith: *If I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing:* that is, nothing to escape everlasting damnation. We may prove, by the clearest arguments, a triple obligation, to make men understand that this error is most damnable and an utter heresy, and the justest cause of damnation for all who follow it and who die outside the one Catholic Faith and charity."

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[9] *Opera* Vol. II. p. 122. b. cf. 7. a; 113. b; 395. b.

St. Bernardino goes on to admit that Satan is sometimes extraordinarily deceptive, "nevertheless, when there is invincible ignorance (that is, when human reason is no guide to tell a man what to do—*ubi non habet homo de humana ratione, quid faciat*) there, as I have said, let him implore God's help, that he cast not himself rashly away. For when a man knoweth not what to do, then it is all God's part to act. For example; if the Angel of Darkness should transfigure himself into .some figure or form whereby nothing should appear unto man which should differ from the semblance of Christ, then it appertaineth to God alone to guard the man, nor is anything left unto man but to implore God's grace. For we can by no means doubt that God is a present help unto those who call upon Him; and even to those who call not, unless some fault bar the way—*nisi obviet culpa* . . . Consider therefore what I have said in these three chapters, and you will see that all who err from the path of truth, and who know not the truth, err guiltily and through their own guilt, for you cannot find one among them who is not neglectful in foresight, in avoiding perils and errors, in paying attention and investigating the truth by himself, or in inquiring it from others and in [listening to] preaching, [and] in imploring God's help."

It will be noted how exactly, in part of this sermon, St. Bernardino follows William of Auvergne, two centuries earlier.

APPENDIX X.

(Chapter VIII. p. 95.)

Marsilius. *Defensor Pacis* Dict. II. cap. xxviii. p. 434.

" As to what was quoted in argument from Clement's *Epistle* which is entitled *To James the Brother of our Lord,* I do not accept it as certain; for it is strongly suspected that this Epistle is not Clement's, by reason of many things contained therein. Again, these Canons or Epistles are suspicious, since in those which are entitled *Concerning Sacred Vestments and Vases, To James the Lord's Brother,* and *Concerning the Common Life of the Apostles,* it is written as though Clement were recounting to James those things which Christ did with His Apostles. But this would have been great ignorance, not to say presumption, on Clement's part, to attempt to set forth, by way of teaching, things which he himself had only heard of, to one who had been present thereat, and who himself had seen Christ and the Apostles, whereof he had been one. Who could have known most concerning the Church's rites, an Apostle or the successor of an Apostle? No man can doubt as to the answer; wherefore these should be reckoned among the apocryphal writings. But let us suppose that they were written by Clement, as some men assert who rely upon fabulous traditions, and who even are so presumptuous as to assert that Clement, being Bishop of Rome, had greater authority in the Church than the Apostle James. We may, then, rightly ask these men, why Clement's *Epistles* are not placed in the text of Holy Scripture, as James's is? "

APPENDIX XI.

(Chapter IX. p. 111.)

Brother Jodocus Graes to Cardinal Baronius, sending him a copy of " The Old Martyrology of Ado," [*which he had discovered among old MSS.*], *and begging him to procure Papal permission for the reading of prohibited books.*

" . . . . In my leisure hours, it is my wont to spend some time in study . . . . if perchance, poor as I am, I may contribute my mite to the treasury of our sweetest Mother [Church]. But in this course I am sorely hindered by the fact that there are many books which the Censorship forbids my using, yet from which the necessity of the work I have undertaken forbids my abstaining altogether; though [as yet] I am most assured I have never departed one hair's breadth, by God's grace, from his Holiness's decrees. But seeing that, in this Germany of ours, we meet with many such books, which at once arouse some scruple, either through some taint in the author or in the printer or in the notes or in the translation, so that, (not to speak of other [books] innumerable) one cannot safely use a Lexicon or Thesaurus or Index,[10] since nearly all of these have been printed in those places which, sad to say! have departed from the unity of the One Church. If, therefore, in this difficulty, your illustrious Eminence would deign to favour me with your clemency, so that I might be permitted, for God's glory, since the matter so requires, to sail on unimpeded by these rocks, then your Eminence would certainly do a deed not unpleasing to my superiors, and most helpful to myself in this work. Nor would I that this permission be limited (as the *Index Expurgatorius* of the most holy Pope Clement limits it) to the space of three years. For it would be most difficult, or even impossible for me, living in this lonely part near Metz and Trier, to recur so often for this licence. If, therefore, your Eminence would deign, of your extreme benignity, to send me this permission by the bearer of the present letter, I could not even think of anything worthy of such condescension."[11]

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[10] The text here has *Iudice;* just as, above, we have the misprint *qui* for *quia.*

For the new Index, published a few months ago by the present Pope, the reader may consult my article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for March, 1930. The preface contains astounding bibliographical misstatements, though one of the present Pope's distinctions has been that he was head of a great library. The list of books is still absolutely mediæval in spirit; the faithful are forbidden to read Montaigne's *Essais,* Browne's *Religio Medici,* Bacon's *Advancement of Learning,* J. S. Mill's *Political Economy,* and even Taine's *History of English Literature!* To explain, as Romanist authorities here explain, that these prohibitions, though advertised as universal, are not intended for a country like Great Britain, is not only almost irreconcilable with the very words of the Index, but reduces the whole affair to a sorrier farce than the Volstead Act in America, where at least the Central Government does not manage the liquor sale through its own semi-official bootleggers, but does its best, apart from individual traitors, to enforce the law which runs in its name. In England, even in this generation, the Index, though published in the most emphatic papal language, is so far violated in practice that it has been possible for the Jesuit journal *Month* to publish articles on Montaigne and Sir Thomas Browne which completely ignore the crucial fact that the *Essais* and the *Religio Medici* are labelled " Poison " at Rome. And the reason given by the *Tablet,* a few years ago, is even more suggestive. In Great Britain (explains that semi-official organ) a rule may safely be relaxed which must be kept more strictly in other countries, where the flood of anti-religious and obscene literature is so strong! How can we fail here to reflect that Britain, and half of Germany, cast off Romanism nearly four centuries ago, while France remained so

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[11] *Caesaris Baronii Epistolae,* etc., Rome, 1759. Vol. I. p. 473. (Camb. Univ. Lib. press-mark, Acton b. 1. 181.)

Romanist as to forbid all contrary teaching and to support the clergy in their decrees of severest punishment, even to the extent of executing a Protestant preacher within my great-great-grandfather's lifetime? that in central Italy, again, not only the whole Government was clerical down to my lifetime, but even the Government offices were manned exclusively by clerics, while North Italy had as large a clerical population, in proportion to its size, as any district of Europe? moreover, that South Italy and Spain were under a similar régime until quite modern times? We ask ourselves, therefore: How is it that these countries which have boasted their Catholicity for centuries, and have shrunk from no weapon of coercion, can now be so flooded with irreligion and obscurity as to make a prohibitory Index quite necessary for them, while it may be almost universally ignored in heretical Britain and Germany?

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